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ABSTRACT

This study examined the costs and benefits of alternative high school programs for Alaskan village children. It attempted to determine what actually happens to village adolescents in different high school programs, why it happens, and what, if anything, can be done about it. Research methods studied the effects of 3 types of high school programs on 105 village freshmen who entered the programs over their freshmen and sophomore high school years. A follow-up study was also done on the 175 students who graduated from these programs from 1970-72. The programs studied were: rural boarding home (Bethel), boarding school (Beltz), and urban boarding home (Anchorage). It was found that these programs created serious social and emotional problems among village students without teaching them the skills necessary to succeed as adults. The majority of the students either dropped out of school or else transferred from school to school. The educational benefits of a large high school with a variety of courses and specialized teachers did not materialize for most village students. Policy recommendations were: (1) high school programs should be established in home villages; (2) boarding home and dormitory programs should be closed in those towns with high levels of social problems; (3) public boarding schools should be closed; (4) the urban boarding home program should remain open to those village students whose educational needs cannot be met in a village school; and (5) the State Department of Education should establish a village high school development program. (FF)

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A LONG WAY FROM HOME

EFFECTS OF PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS ON VILLAGE CHILDREN AWAY FROM HOME

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

When I began this study 3 years ago, it was not my intention to show that boarding home programs and regional high schools were helping to destroy a generation of village children. Quite the contrary, I believed that the serious problems of rural secondary education were due in large part to bad matches between particular types of village students and particular types of high schools. Originally, I designed this study to explore ways of placing village students with different educational needs in the most appropriate type of secondary school environment. I was highly skeptical of the village high school alternative because I questioned whether village high schools could provide an excellent education.

But as I saw what actually happened to the 1971-72 class of village students who entered the three representative high school programs studied, I was compelled to give up these initial views. In all of these programs, the majority of village children were developing serious social and emotional problems as a result of their high school experiences. Our follow-up study of graduates from these school programs suggested that in many cases, the school experience had left these students with a set of self-defeating ways for dealing with the world.

The problems of rural secondary education cannot be blamed on particular individuals or on particular inadequacies such as irrelevant curriculum or insufficient staff. The staff of the state's

Division of Regional Schools and Boarding Home Program were in almost every case exceptionally concerned and hardworking people. The problems of rural secondary education are caused by the structure of the educational system as a whole. Certainly, some improvements can be made through such changes as increased local control and more school staff. But these types of changes will not end the damage done to village children, because the damage is done primarily through a total system which separates children from their families at a critical developmental period and places them in unhealthy environments for growing up.

Nothing said in this report should be taken as characteristic of all Bethel or all Beltz or all Anchorage school staff members or village students. In every school, there were always a number of exceptional individuals who managed to resist the disintegrating pressures of the environment and emerged strong and competent. This study attempts to show just why the negative pressures of these secondary school environments are so strong that it requires an exceptional individual to resist them.

Judith Kleinfeld
Fairbanks, Alaska
1973

PREFACE

How to best provide a proper secondary education for Alaska's rural youth has long been an unsolved problem in Alaska education. It has also long been the target of a great variety of efforts on the part of state and federal agencies. Most of the efforts have been in the form of needs assessments, investigations of ongoing problems, and reviews of past efforts. None of these, however, have noticeably improved the educational programs; to the contrary, some of the efforts have even aggravated an already awkward situation.

The inadequacies of existing programs as well as inadequate efforts to improve them are not widely enough known. Increasingly, however, Native leaders are calling public attention to the situation; they are consistently objecting to secondary educational programs and are publically voicing their concern over the effects that the system has had and is having on their children.

This report complements and reinforces the intuitive expressions of concern by members of the Native community on the negative effects of Alaska secondary education. It looks at the problems, inadequacies, and defects of the educational programs with a directness and candor found wanting in the sterile and sterotyped "needs assessments" of the past.

Dr. Judith Kleinfeld and her psychiatric consultant in the study, Dr. Joseph Bloom, have brought their skills in educational and psychiatric research to bear on the problems of educating Native children away from home. In doing so, they have managed to get at the heart of the situation: the pupils, their environment, and the circumstances surrounding their education. Dr. Kleinfeld's findings are stark and dramatic and may even leave the reader with feelings of despair. However, the conclusions and policy recommendations of the study should provide a basis for moving in a new and more constructive direction.

Where a serious problem exists that adversely affects the lives of human beings, the first step toward a solution must be recognition that the problem is real. We feel that this report constitutes that first step. Further, we hope that consequences of this work may lead to policy changes that will in turn lead to positive alternatives and thus correct the shortcomings in Alaska's system of public education. It is to this end that this report is addressed.

• • •

This report is the third in a series resulting from a long-term examination of the problems in Alaska's secondary school programs for rural children. The project, begun at the University of Alaska in 1970, was initially directed by Dr. Charles K. Ray, Dean, College of Behavioral Sciences and Education. The project's principal investigator Dr. Judith S. Kleinfeld has already produced *Alaska's Urban Boarding Home Program* and *Effective Teachers of Indian and Eskimo High School Students*.

We would like to extend our special appreciation to the Alaska Department of Education for their initial support and their foresight in recognizing the need to better understand the problems in the Regional School and Boarding Home Program. Appreciation is also due to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which as coordinator for the Johnson O'Malley Act sources made funds available to help in this research. Following expiration of funds from Johnson O'Malley Act sources on June 30, 1973, this work has been supported by the Center for Northern Educational

Research and the Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research. Special acknowledgement is made to the Ford Foundation, whose grant to CNER for Alaskan educational policy analysis has made the actual publication possible.

Ronald Crowe had responsibility for editing and preparing this report for publication, with production assistance by Lavonia Wiele. The cover design is by Nancy Van Veenen.

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and Government Research

Costs of High School Programs Away from Home

These programs created serious social and emotional problems among village students without teaching them the skills they needed to succeed in adult life.

Social and Emotional Costs: Of the students studied, the high school experience led to school-related social and emotional problems in:

- Seventy-six percent (17 out of 23) of the students in the rural boarding home program.
- Seventy-four percent (31 out of 42) of the students in the boarding school.
- Fifty-eight percent (23 out of 40) of the students in the urban boarding home program.

In village ninth and tenth grade programs, only about 10 percent of the 158 students were reported by teachers to suffer from social and emotional problems, and these problems were rarely school-related.

Withdrawal from School: The majority of the students studied either dropped out of school and received no further education or else transferred from school to school in a nomadic pattern that can create identity problems:

- Sixty-nine percent (15 out of 23) withdrew from the rural boarding home program.
- Sixty-five percent (26 out of 40) withdrew from the urban boarding home program.
- Thirty-eight percent (16 out of 42) withdrew from the boarding school program.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the costs and benefits of the present system of rural secondary education, which requires most village children to attend high school away from home.

Research methods consisted of studying the effects of three representative types of high school programs on the 105 village freshmen who entered the programs over their freshmen and sophomore high school years. A follow-up study was also done on the 175 students who graduated from these three high school programs from 1970-1972. The high school programs studied were:

- The rural boarding home program in Bethel.
- The boarding school program in Nome.
- The urban boarding home program in Anchorage.

This report's conclusions are limited by such problems as the small number of village students who both entered and remained in the programs, the difficulties of locating the high school graduates, and the difficulties of determining to what extent the school experience was responsible for what happened to the students.

Variety of Courses: Most village students as freshmen received a high school program which could easily have been provided in the village—a basic skills curriculum with such electives as art and typing. On the sophomore level, they took a wider variety of courses. However, in the boarding school and rural boarding home program, most students insisted that they weren't learning anything. In the urban boarding home program, a few academically talented students benefitted from specialized courses; the majority, however, did not.

Success in Adult Life: High school programs away from home failed for the most part to prepare village students for adult life, whether or not the students entered college, occupational training programs, or employment. The only exception to such program failures took place in the urban boarding home program in those few instances where academically inclined village students chanced to be placed with excellent boarding home parents.

Policy Recommendations

1. High School Programs Should Be Established in Home Villages.

Village high schools are likely to reduce serious social and emotional problems caused in large part by high schools away from home. Equally important, village high school programs could be designed to provide educational experiences critical to the particular developmental needs of village adolescents. Such programs might include:

- Community projects, such as establishment of a village business where many students could assume important, responsible roles that would win approval from both western and village adults.

- A basic skills curriculum taught by a core instructor who is capable of developing the extensive personal

Other Costs: The high school programs created other severe costs such as:

- Identity confusion, which contributed to the problems many students had in meeting the demands of adult life.
- Development of self-defeating styles of behavior and attitudes.
- Grief of village parents, not only at their children's leaving home, but also at their children's personal disintegration away from home.

The Dollar Cost: Approximately $12,280,000 was spent in FY-73 for the school and residential program operating costs of high school education for 2,427 village students. Average program operating costs totaled over $5,000 per student. This cost does not include such additional expenses as debt retirement on school and dormitory plant construction.

Benefits of High School Program Away from Home

The supposed educational benefits of a large high school with a wide variety of courses and specialized teachers did not materialize for most village students.

Progress in Basic Academic Skills: Of the students studied who remained in the program over 2 high school years, gains in reading achievement were:

- 0 years (8 remaining students) in the rural boarding home program.
- 1.6 years (14 remaining students) in the urban boarding home program.
- 1.7 years (18 remaining students) in the boarding school.

relationships that lead to greater learning among village students. Course variety can be provided by itinerant teaching specialists.

- A senior year transitional program to prepare village students for the transition to college or occupational training. Such a program would give village students needed adult guidance and peer group support as they assume adult roles.

Other alternatives, such as establishing area high schools closer to home or a junior high program in each village would provide some improvement. However, these alternatives are not as desirable as a high school program in each village. An area high school which placed a large number of teenagers in a small village could easily disrupt the village and create severe social problems for both villages and adolescents. In addition, a junior high school program would do little to reduce students' social and emotional problems arising during their senior high school years away from home, because these problems result much more from the negative influence of the school environment than from immaturity on the part of the students. This study showed that students who were older when they left home for high school were as likely to develop school-related mental health problems as younger ones.

2. Boarding Home and Dormitory Programs Should Be Closed in Those Towns Which Have High Levels of Social Problems.

The problems of village students in these high school programs are caused primarily by negative influences of the town. Even if substantial improvements in the school programs occurred, these changes would not solve the major problems resulting from students' out-of-school experiences. The problems of dormitories in these towns are more visible, but students in boarding homes suffer equally serious difficulties.

3. Public Boarding Schools Should Be Closed.

Public boarding schools serve as incubators for social problems both because the impersonal boarding school environment creates negative attitudes and styles of behavior and because disturbed students infect others. Students have little meaningful contact with adults who could provide guidance, and they are influenced primarily by equally confused peers. To provide the additional staff and program necessary to develop a good educational program would be difficult and expensive. Boarding schools are already the most costly educational program, and yet provide the lowest educational benefits.

4. The Urban Boarding Home Program Should Remain Open to Those Village Students (about 250) Whose Educational Needs Cannot Be Met in a Village High School.

Some academically inclined village students require extensive specialized course work which is not available in small village high schools. A few urban boarding home program students, for example, take advanced science and mathematics courses in urban high schools in order to enter a premedical program in college. There is a limited supply of excellent urban boarding homes available which could be used for this small group of village students who require advanced specialized courses to fulfill their potential.

5. The Department of Education Should Establish a Village High School Development Program.

The inexcusable lack of careful evaluation and planning of the past is in large part responsible for the creation and continuation of a destructive high school system. The state Department of Education should establish an adequately funded and staffed village high school development project. If this is not done, village high schools may be established which offer a limited academic program which will not prepare rural students for adult roles at a time when highly educated Native leadership is critically needed.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

The issue of what type of high school education should be provided for village children has been for many years perhaps the most critical and controversial problem in cross-cultural education. At the heart of all the conflicting proposals for "urban, integrated schools" or "regional high schools" or "village high schools" are two opposing theories on what form of secondary school education yields the greatest benefits for village children.

According to the first theory, village adolescents should attend large high schools away from home, because only large schools can provide a wide choice of subjects, specialized teachers, and vocational training facilities. The theory holds that schools away from home provide important out-of-school learning experiences that will enable students to make informed choices between village and western culture. While this type of high school does cause some social and emotional adjustment problems, the educational benefits outweigh these costs.

The second theory argues that village adolescents should receive their high school education at home. Separation from parents and an abrupt transition to an unfamiliar western high school environment creates severe social and emotional problems. While a small village high school may offer a limited curriculum, the psychological benefits far outweigh these costs.

The present secondary school programs established for village children are primarily large high schools away from home. While a few village students in 1973 attended village schools under a new ninth and tenth grade program, most students were divided between urban boarding home programs, rural boarding home programs, and boarding school programs (see Table 1-1).

The high drop-out rate and the high incidence of drinking, violence, and suicide attempts that have occurred in these large high schools away from home have caused tremendous outcry and have forced a re-evaluation of the direction of rural secondary education. Policy is moving in the direction of smaller high schools closer to home or even village high schools. However, many Native leaders, educators, and village students believe that such schools will provide an inferior education that will not enable Native students to succeed in college. At a time when the Land Claims Settlement[1] has generated tremendous demand for highly educated Natives, it is of critical importance to provide secondary education which will lead to college success. Could small village high schools be structured in innovative ways to provide excellent education?

Purpose

This study examines the costs and benefits of alternative high school programs for village children. It attempts to determine what actually happens to village adolescents in different high school programs, why it happens, and what, if anything, can be done about it. Is it indeed the case, for example, that village students really benefit from the wide variety of courses available in large high schools, or do most students enroll in basic courses for slow learners? Are the severe social and emotional problems of

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[1] See J. S. Kleinfeld, P. Jones, and R. Evans. *Land Claims and Native Manpower*. Alaska Native Foundation; Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research, 1973.

Table 1-1. Enrollment of Village Native Students in Public High Schools 1972-73

Boarding Home Program	Number Enrolled
Urban Boarding Home Program (Anchorage, Fairbanks)	554
Rural Boarding Home Program (Other – Bethel, Dillingham, etc.)	556
Total	1,110
Boarding Schools	
Nome-Beltz Regional High School	173
Kodiak Aleutian Regional High School	73
Bethel Regional High School	205
Wildwood	158
Mt. Edgecumbe	360
Chemawa	348
Total	1,317
Village Ninth and Tenth Grade Programs	158
Total	158
GRAND TOTAL	2,585

village students in high schools away from home actually the fault of the schools program or would similar problems occur if the students attended high school at home?

Methods

We examined these questions by selecting three existing high school alternatives. We then followed the progress of Native village students through these three programs during their freshman and sophomore years. While we originally planned to follow these students through 4 years of high school, we were compelled to shorten our study because so many students had dropped out or transferred from the programs. In addition, the incidence and severity of school-related social and emotional problems among the students was so high that we felt these issues should be brought to the attention of policymakers without further delay. To obtain some information on longer term effects of these programs, however, we also studied the success of students who graduated from the high school programs over the last 3 years (1970-1972), especially their success in college. A detailed description of the methodology together with the statistical data to which this report will refer may be found in the appendices. (Following is a summary of the main procedures and the limitations of this study.)

We selected the following three high school programs as representative of a secondary school alternative:

1. Rural Boarding Home Program – Bethel Boarding Home Program 1971-72/Bethel Dormitory and Regional High School 1972-73.

Bethel was selected because in 1971-72 it was the largest boarding home program located in a rural Native town close to students' homes. The opening of the dormitory the following year provided a good opportunity to contrast the effects of the two different residence environments in the same town on the same students.

2. Boarding School – Beltz Boarding School 1971-72/Nome-Beltz Regional High School 1972-73.

Beltz was selected because in 1971-72 it was a boarding school enrolling only village students and because it was operated by the state of Alaska. We did not wish to choose a Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school because many of these schools were being phased out. In 1972-73, Beltz was consolidated with the Nome High School and became a large comprehensive school. Again, observing what happened to the same group of village students when the school environment changed was useful in studying effects of different school situations.

3. Urban Boarding Home Program – Anchorage Boarding Home Program.

Anchorage was selected because it was the largest boarding home program in the largest Alaskan city. Since we examined a high school type through an intensive study of only one school, it is possible that our conclusions are in error because this school is not really representative. However, we do not think this is the case because we also observed many other high school programs while serving for 3 years as consultants to the Division of Regional Schools and Boarding Home Program. Similar problems existed at most other schools of the same type.

Selection and Sample Size

In each high school program, we selected as our student sample all freshmen Eskimo students who had not previously been away to high school. We selected only Eskimo students because they are by far the largest group of students who leave home to attend high school. While again our observation suggests that Aleut and Athabascan students have similar problems in similar programs, caution should be used in generalizing the results of this study to other groups. Our graduate follow-up study, however, includes Aleut and Athabascan students.

Included in our sample is the entire 1971-72 entering class of students at Beltz (42 students) and at Bethel (23 students). Due to the large numbers of students entering Anchorage and our limited research funds, we selected a random sample of 40 students in Anchorage. The very high rates of withdrawal from most of these programs left us with only 82 of the original 105 students at the end of the first year and only 48 students at the end of the second year. This small number of remaining students, while in itself pointing to a serious problem, means that our discussion of effects of the schools is confined to a very small group. While we have no reason to believe that these students are unrepresentative (indeed they are probably stronger students since they managed to remain), nonetheless this small sample size should be kept in mind.

Evaluating Effects of Schools

In evaluating effects of schools on students, we examined:

Social and Emotional Problems: A psychiatrist experienced in cross-cultural problems rated the severity of each student's social and emotional problems in high school and also rated the extent to which these problems resulted from the high school experience. His ratings were based on several sources of information:

- Background material on the student, especially the village teacher's evaluation.
- Reports of adjustment problems supplied by teachers, counselors, dormitory administrators, boarding home

parents, boarding home coordinators, probation officers, school nurses, and psychiatrists.

- A Symptom Rating Scale.

Achievement and Courses Taken: California Achievement Tests were given to students when they entered high school and at the end of their freshman and sophomore years. Courses taken as well as grades received were obtained for all students.

Attitude Change: Through questionnaires and interviews, we examined changes in self-concept, beliefs about prejudice, and educational and occupational goals.

Each of these measures has many limitations. For example, our evaluations of students' social and emotional problems was hampered simply because in so many programs, no adult (teacher or counselor) knew students very well. Questionnaire measures of attitudes are often misleading, especially in a culturally different population. While we pretested our measures and used Eskimo consultants, nonetheless many students probably interpreted the questions differently from the way they were intended.

Each school is presented as a descriptive case study. For this reason we did not make statistical comparisons between schools.

While we have confidence in the findings of this report, this confidence results from the harmony of all the different measures taken together rather than to our faith in any one specific measure. No attempt is made to argue that any single source of data is free from error. Rather, it is all the information taken together that suggests the conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO
BETHEL REGIONAL HIGH SCHOOL

In 1971-72, 23 village freshmen entered Bethel to go to high school. Two years later, 17 of these 23 students had developed school-related social and emotional problems during their freshman or sophomore years. Eight of the original 23 students remained in Bethel, and none wanted to stay there. Of these eight students, six wanted to go to high school at home if a high school were built there, and two wanted to go to high school in a different place. Over their 2 years in high school, the eight remaining students had gained on the average 0 years in reading achievement.

The study of what happened to the 23 students who went to high school in Bethel provides insight into the fundamental causes of educational problems in regional high schools. On the surface the Bethel Regional High School had many educational advantages. Bethel had, to some extent, community control. It had a new $8-million regional high school and dormitory complex. The dormitory director hired by the local school board at the beginning of the year was one of the most talented and experienced in Alaska. The new high school principal, who had a doctorate in education, had arrived in Bethel a year early in order to become familiar with the community and the background of the students. The curriculum for the regional high school was developed by a local steering committee composed of the principal, teachers, and community members. The curriculum was built around the latest educational methods—an open school, individualized instruction, behavioral objectives, and Native heritage courses. What happened in Bethel?

Influences of Town Environment

The severe problems village students developed in Bethel resulted not so much from what happened to them in school but rather from what happened to them outside of the school in the town of Bethel.

One of the students in our groups developed severe social problems in the town before school even opened. According to the boarding home program coordinator:

> As soon as she entered Bethel, she got involved in heavy drinking. She raised hell in the hotel. There was a knock-down, drag-out drunken fight. The police took her out. She felt bad about the drinking because "my daddy told me not to."

The probation officer said of another student in our group:

> She's seeing me now because of all the drinking, and she was involved in two attempted rapes. A Bethel man tried to get into bed with her in her boarding home, and that blew her mind for a week after.

While our information is limited, in every case we were able to follow, village students' problems dramatically decreased when they went home or transferred to a different school. One student in our group, who had committed serious criminal offenses in Bethel, was reported by his probation officer to be doing fine in the village. Another girl in our group, whose sojourn in Bethel included stealing, sexual promiscuity, drinking, and chronic truancy from school, had none of these problems after she was transferred to a nearby village which had a ninth grade. She wrote that she was happy, liked her boarding home parents, and had never been absent. A group of village students who had terrorized the Bethel dormitory by forming a mini-Mafia did not cause trouble at home. The village teacher wrote that those returnees "did well in school here even though records indicated that they had caused many problems in Bethel."

In their evaluations of their high school experience, the village students almost unanimously held the view that their problems were caused by what happened to them while living in the town. One student who went home to the village to "get my head together" said:

> The Bethel High School wasn't bad but the Bethel city because there was lots of liquor around, and I felt so tempted that I can't leave it alone.

The village students' belief that pressures in the town was the basic cause of their problems is supported by research in social psychiatry concerning the causes of mental health problems.[1] The social environment in which an individual is placed can be a central factor in the development of social and emotional problems. As common experience suggests, a person's psychological health depends not only on his personal strength but also on the degree of external problems and pressures to which he is subjected. Given strong enough pressures, most people would probably develop serious social and emotional problems. Village students in Bethel were often under very strong negative pressures. As one student in our group explained:

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[1] See A. Leighton, "Is Social Environment a Cause of Psychiatric Disorder?" In Russell R. Monroe, G. D. Klee, E. B. Brody (Eds.) *Psychiatric Epidemiology and Mental Health Planning.* Washington (1967) 337-345.

See also C. C. Hughes, M. A. Trembley, R. N. Rapoport, and A. H. Leighton, *People of Cove and Woodlot: Communities from the Viewpoint of Social Psychiatry.* Vol. II. The Stirling County Study of Psychiatric Disorder and Socio-cultural Environment, New York, Basic Books, 1960.

> In Bethel, they would be mad at me and tease me a lot because I'm not drinking. Like my first cousin say why don't you drink with me and be happy. But I like to obey my parents as long as they live. They tell me what's good and what's bad. Oscar, you know, he's been my friend so long and he's been forcing me to drink. He was looking for me with a rock to hit me if I didn't drink. Some people say they used to be like me and never touch liquor. They tell me it's fun. You'll be doing that after a few years.

A type of environment especially likely to cause social and emotional problems is a "socially disorganized" community. This term refers to a community where institutions, especially those of social control, have broken down. Typically, there are high rates of many types of social problems such as alcoholism, suicide, and homicide. Social disorganization frequently occurs in towns undergoing rapid social change. Bethel and other regional towns in Alaska with their rapidly expanding population, and high rates of social problems exemplify such socially disorganized communities.

These towns are very poor places to locate high schools for village children. Yet, most new high schools enrolling village children have been placed there because these towns are expanding population centers. Ironically, boarding schools for middle class children both in other states of the U.S. and England have traditionally been placed in rural areas because it is believed that children should be removed from the "vices of the city" until they can be taught, if not to sin at all, at least to sin in moderation. Yet, in Alaska, the absurdity is that Native children are taken from small villages and placed in regional towns, which usually have much higher rates of social problems than the surrounding villages.

Bethel

Bethel is a town of 2,416 people, of which 77 percent are Eskimo. The high income and high status jobs in Bethel are usually held by whites who are employed in government agencies or who own local businesses. A survey of Bethel residents found that 40 percent of the Native adults had incomes under $1,800 per year, and an additional 6 percent earned virtually nothing during the year.[2] Most adults are involved to a limited extent in subsistence hunting and fishing.

Social environments in Bethel differ substantially depending upon which social group residents belong to. According to many Bethel residents, there are three major social groups.[3] First, there is a small group of old, established Eskimo families. These people tend to be community leaders who are highly involved in agency activities, Native organizations, and civic projects. They view Bethel as a dynamic town where constructive social change is occurring. They are very busy people who are often away from Bethel attending meetings and carrying out agency business. Their lives rarely intersect with the lives of the village students who go to Bethel for high school.

Second, there is a group of whites who work in government agencies. (For example, teachers and medical personnel). While some of these whites involve themselves in community activities and stay for many years, most are transients and stay within their own group. Typically, they are appalled by the severe drinking and violence in Bethel. One teacher said,

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[2] Michael Rowan, Rowan Group Report, 1972.

[3] The social structure of Bethel was vividly displayed in the school assembly in the cafeteria during the 1971-72 year. At the top of the bleachers sat the high-status Bethel Eskimo students from old families together with the white students. The others milled around at their feet with the village boarding home students huddled close to the door.

> I get shocked that I am no longer shocked about what is happening here. You take it as a matter of course, the murders, the wife beating, the finding of a body at the bottom of the beach.

Most of these professional people view Bethel as a way station, a transition point, a town in which they wish to invest little.

Third, there are the village people who have recently come to the community. These include stable families and college students who have obtained good jobs. These also include families with severe social problems, persons who reportedly have been "exiled" from their home villages for causing serious disturbance, and unemployed young men who drift about town and become involved in drugs and drinking. It is with this village group (many of them unstable) that the village high school students come into most contact and who have the most influence on them. These are the people they know from home, the people who have time for them, and, in the case of the girl students, these are the attractive older men whom they date.

Influences of Disturbed Companions

Many problems of village high school students in Bethel resulted from their contact with the group of disturbed young men in town. These young men supplied students with liquor and, in some cases, with drugs. The rate of village high school students using drugs was higher in Bethel (about one student in six) than in any other school studied. As a counselor described the working of these processes on one student in our group:

> Her first cousin was heavily involved in drugs and they fell in love. She got into marijuana, but he was on hard stuff. There was nothing you could do with her. She dropped out and came back three

> times. Every time I'd face her with something she had to do, she'd make a vague suicide threat like "How do you know I'll be around in five years?"

The girls in Bethel developed the most severe problems, because they fell under the influence of these young men. As one teacher described a confused student:

> The social life in Bethel has thrown her for a loop. She can't decide whether it's more important to be out every night or to attend school. She is pressured a lot by the older boys.

Many of these unemployed young men hold indiscriminately antiwhite attitudes. Some village students adopted these attitudes from their friends or boarding home parents. One boy in our group learned to hate whites under the influence of a radical white boarding home parent just as he adopted his boarding home parent's habit of smoking pot. Some girls acquired such attitudes from their older boy friends. As one boarding home mother said:

> She came home dirty and said she wanted to change clothes before going out for a date. The guy (a University of Alaska student who had flunked out and returned home) said to her, "What are you, a gussuk?" The boys say to girls, "Why should you study all this garbage? We were better off before the gussuk came." Or one time, I asked a girl to send her date home because he was drunk and the boy said, "You're going to do what a gussuk tells you."

Some village students got into trouble in Bethel when their parents or relatives came to town to party, and the students joined them. The village students were sometimes disturbed by seeing a side of their parents that most parents are able to keep hidden from their children. In the case of one student in our group:

> His mother has been terribly disturbed since his father died. She came into town, and when he

> went to see her he found her drunk and in bed with another man. She tried to kill herself. He had accepted her religious morality at home and this got him terribly upset. He got too drunk to handle and the police were called. He was sent to jail and then the sleep-off center.

Bethel is a political, educational, medical, commercial, and amusement center for about 57 widely diverse villages in the region. The children these villages send to Bethel High School also differ widely. Many of the villages are dry and well-organized while others have severe alcohol and other social problems. Many of the villagers maintain a dry home town by going to Bethel to party. A large proportion of the arrests made in Bethel and a large proportion of people who spend the night at the sleep-off center are not Bethel residents but people from neighboring villages. Thus, the people from villages in the area view Bethel as the place you go to have a good time and blow off steam. Since this is what happens in Bethel, most parents do not want their children to go there. As one social worker put it:

> People call this the 'sin city of the Kuskokwim.' Bethel is where people come to do things you can't do in the village—get drunk or carry on an affair. Parents are horrified to send their kids to this place.

Boarding Home Families

During 1971-72, village students in Bethel lived with boarding home families in the community. When village students were placed in good boarding homes, they were protected to some extent from the social problems of the town. Two students in our group who did quite well in Bethel, for example, had brought the village and its standards with them in the person of an older woman sent in by the village to take care of them. Ultimately, however, this woman's family became involved in trouble in Bethel, and the woman did not wish to return.

In many other cases, however, village students became involved in the drinking and violence which occurred in unstable boarding homes. One student reported:

> I was living with my first cousin. Then there was this trouble. They go out, sometimes three times a week, and then when they come home they start fighting and drinking. And I didn't like that. I couldn't study. Then I got into it because I didn't want my first cousin to get bruised. And then he took some weapons out and he wanted to kill himself and I got scared.

The boarding home coordinator could not be selective in choosing boarding homes because there were too many students who had to be placed. The coordinator rated only about a third of homes used for students in our group as "very good" (see Table 2-1). If either the parent or the student became dissatisfied with the home situation, the student was transferred to another home. This happened often; almost half of the students in our group transferred during the year.

The problems of village students in Bethel homes, where the majority lived with Eskimo families, were as serious as the problems of village students in Anchorage homes, where the majority lived with white families. The problems were just different.

Students in Bethel suffered fewer problems related to cultural differences in such things as time schedules and eating habits. In one Bethel home visited, the boarding home student came in after the family had eaten dinner and casually helped himself to the food left on the stove. The same event could have provoked a serious parent-student crisis in Anchorage. But students in Bethel were more likely to be placed in homes with severe drinking problems and fighting.

Although some of these homes were hard on the village children, the students were in some cases just as hard on the homes. In Bethel, the village students were considered adults, and

Table 2-1. Boarding Homes in Bethel During Sample Students' Freshman Year 1971-72

		Percent of Total
(Number of Students – 22)		
Number of Boarding Homes Used Per Student		
1 home	12	55%
2 homes	8	36
3 or more homes	2	9
Total	22	
Ethnic Group of Boarding Home Families Used		
White	7	20
Eskimo	24	69
Mixed	4	11
Total	35	
Boarding Coordinator's Rating of Home		
Very Good	12	34
Good	9	26
Adequate	11	31
Less than Adequate	3	9
Total	35	
Number of Students Who Planned to Return to Live With Some Boarding Home Family for Sophomore Year *(Based on available re-applications)*	2 out of 10	20%

many boarding home mothers worried that a sexually attractive young woman in the house would disrupt their marriages. The boarding home students' exploits often caused great trouble to the families. One student in our group, for example, tore up her boarding home when she was drunk. Another student, in an encounter with the family children, held them off with a knife. Since Eskimo families in Bethel, like village families, may not have a tradition of controlling the behavior of adolescents, the boarding home parents frequently did not know what to do when control was needed. In these instances, they called the coordinator to get the student out. As one boarding home parent wrote the coordinator:

> This boarding home student has been drinking and carrying on. Take him out of here. He should spend the weekend in jail. He's a bad boy. We don't want him anymore.

In short, while the social problems of the town caused trouble for village students, the large numbers of adolescents, in turn, increased the problems in the town.

The Bethel Regional Dormitory

In 1972-73, a dormitory opened in Bethel next to the new Bethel High School. The dormitory is a modern facility with rooms designed for four students, a student canteen, a well-furnished recreation room, and student lounges. The dormitory was under the control of the Bethel Regional School Board, through a memorandum of agreement with the state Department of Education. The community school board hired the dormitory director and had final authority and policy-making power. The professional staff consisted of the dormitory director, recreation director, counselor, nurse, and food service director. Due to the housing shortage in Bethel, the professional staff lived in the dormitory with the students. The dormitory attendants were predominantly Eskimos who lived in the town.

Of our original group of 23 village students, 14 returned to Bethel as sophomores and 11 entered the new dormitory. Living in the dormitory, however, did not reduce students' problems in Bethel. School-related social and emotional problems stayed at the same level for the remaining students in our group, even though the remaining students tended to be stronger than those who had dropped or transferred to a different school.

The following study of Beltz Dormitory deals specifically with the causes of problems in dormitories. We will summarize what happened in the Bethel Regional Dormitory to point out that basically similar events took place that year in both dormitories despite different personnel, different types of control, different facilities, and different students. The same problems occurred because the causes of these problems lie in the fundamental social structure of these types of large dormitories.

An initial policy of student freedom combined with the presence of a minority of disturbed students allowed the minority to set the tone, demoralize the staff, and cause serious problems for the rest of the group. The educational philosophy of the dormitory staff at the beginning of the year was based on the freedom in education movement—the belief that freedom would teach self-responsibility. One staff member said:

> These students are responsible adults, and they will act like adults if you treat them like adults.

However, some students entering the dormitory were initially disturbed, and such a policy allowed them to terrorize the rest. At one point, a group of students who had seen "The Godfather" organized a Mafia-type organization in the dormitory and abused other students.

Many other students succumbed to the drinking pressures of the town, and the result was widespread drinking and fighting in the dormitory. The students, despite their drinking, felt that drinking was wrong and that if the staff did not try to stop them, the staff "don't care even we drink."

Of the eleven dormitory students in our group, five left the dormitory, with three going home and two moving to the boarding home program. One explained:

> I could never get any sleep. I didn't want to do any more scolding of my friends, so I left.

Dormitory activities became blown-up by gossip; the town and the students' parents became alarmed at the word-of-mouth stories of drinking, violence, and sexual exploits in the dormitory. Everyone in Bethel, whether or not they had ever walked into the dormitory, seemed to know exactly how many drunks were lying in the hall, how many times the police had been called, how many bottles the trashman had taken away, and how many cases of venereal disease had occurred.

The town had also stigmatized and stereotyped the boarding home students the previous year. It was always the boarding home students who were the troublemakers and low achievers who were bringing school standards down. However, the dormitory consolidated the village students and made them more visible, so the town's stereotyping of dormitory students became much worse. Some students in our group, reacting to the stereotyping, began to take pride in their identity as a drunk toughs. As one joked:

> This dorm is great—a bar at one end and a whorehouse at the other.

The problems in the dormitory, made worse by continual gossip, alarmed village parents. One village board member said:

> We send in our kids to learn. We want them to learn. Our sons get drunk. And our daughters get bothered by drunk boys.

Many parents sent for their children, especially the girls, and the remaining students felt they might also go home. A girl in our group commented:

> Once my sister gets home and tells my parents what is happening, I guess I'll be going home too.

The reaction of the town leads to a new law and order policy which antagonizes and confuses both the students and the staff. After the first director resigned, due to health problems (to which the pressures of the dormitory contributed), the school board selected a new director committed to a law-and-order philosophy. The new director, in explaining his policy stated:

> Before, it was an ultra-permissive situation. We have now moved our drinking problems (students with drinking problems) back to the boarding home program. There are going to be more rules and they will be enforced.

The expulsion of their friends from the dormitory, together with this abrupt change in policy, antagonized the students. They complained that they were not wanted in the dorm, that there was a lot of subtle pressure to make them leave.

The dormitory staff, which had been hired by the old director, similarly distrusted the new regime, and some even cooperated with the students in evading the director. Staff attitudes were exemplified by one staff member who bragged:

> He came back from Anchorage and I didn't even lift my head to say 'hello'.

Both staff and students glorified the old dormitory director and begged him to return.

Everyone gave up trying to solve the problems and just attempted to hold on until the end of the year. Two tragedies occurred. First, a dormitory student who had been drinking with friends died after falling down and passing out in the snow. The official reason given for the death was heart trouble, but doubts remained among many students and staff members. Second, the new dormitory director shot himself to death in the dormitory. One of the most disturbing aspects of this suicide was that the dormitory students did not seem to be disturbed. After all, suicides were common in Bethel. Instead of worrying about why it had happened, the students were interested in such questions as who would take over the dormitory and whether the food would improve.

The staff members who had arrived to take charge following the emergency were puzzled but relieved by the students' response and asked the students to help them survive the remainder of the year. Recognizing an actual need to behave responsibly, the students did just that. Drinking problems dropped substantially; morale improved; and the year ended without additional problems.

The School Program, 1971-72

In 1971-72, Bethel was a traditional high school which had many of the characteristics educators believe to be central to problems of cross-cultural education. The principal of the high school had just arrived from out of state and knew little about Native culture or the community. The curriculum was standard, consisting of such courses as English, world history, math, and shop.

An atmosphere of impersonalism and lack of purpose pervaded the school. The school staff often did not know who students were or where they were. Indeed, when we asked about the students in our study group, the staff sometimes told us that certain ones had left school or had even died. Later, we often found these students wandering around the hall and learned that they simply hadn't been to class for some time.

According to peer group values, it was "cool" to cut class and cool to refuse to cooperate. These peer group attitudes were obvious in our testing program at the end of the school year. Only in Bethel did students stamp their feet, giggle, and fart to disrupt the test. Others walked out during the test. The Bethel teachers who assisted with the testing were resigned to such problems and said nothing could be done.

Our observation of classroom after classroom showed the same pattern—a lack of academic standards and apathy on the part of teachers as well as students. Many students were absent or came to class long after the bell had rung. When there was an assignment, few had completed it. The teachers made few demands on the students, either for higher quality academic work or more prompt attendance. They were concerned mainly with filling up allotted school time, which they did by assigning their classes to watch movies and listen to records. In a typical freshman class attended by the village students in our group, students straggled in 15 or 20 minutes after the class had begun. Of the ten students in the class, six were present, and two of these had done the assignment. The lesson began with the teacher tentatively showing the class some pictures and asking them to make a one-sentence statement about each picture. There was little response. The teacher explained to me that she was using the pictures because the students were afraid to talk and she hoped to get some response from them this way. Their next assignment was to write in their journals. She promised the students an A if they wrote something and a F if they did not.

While this pattern was typical, it is important to note that a few effective teachers did conduct excellent classes despite the prevailing apathy in the school. These successful teachers seemed to have several practices in common. They knew the students personally outside of the classroom. They demanded attendance, and when students skipped their classes, they would personally find out why by stopping the students in the hall and asking where they had been. In such classes, student interest was high. For example, in biology, the class was conducting an experiment with fruitflies. The class period was spent showing students how to sex type the fruitflies. The students were fascinated and asked many questions. The teacher joked with them, often making reference to their personal lives. The teacher had seated his class at three tables, with each group working in a different way because he felt that certain students did better with certain types of instruction. The teacher explained that he gave homework and that the students liked it because they felt that they were accomplishing something.

In sum, the village students were comfortable in Bethel High School. Rarely did we see the fear and tension and the rigid posture and hiding in the back of the room so frequently seen in Anchorage. However, both teachers and students felt that the students were learning nothing.

Our statistics on achievement gains during the year suggest that they were right. On the average, village students in Bethel High School made almost no gains in reading achievement and gained only half a grade level in language achievement.

We feared that the students' disruptive attitudes during our testing program may have invalidated our test results. Consequently, we obtained the results of the State-Operated Schools' testing program. These tests had been administered in the classroom, and teachers reported no special problems. However, these tests results showed that the village freshmen did even worse.

The Bethel Regional High School, 1972-73

With the opening of the new Bethel Regional High School, everything was expected to change for the better. As one school board member described general expectations:

> The opening of the high school was second only to the second coming of Christ.

There was a modern school plant and a new high school principal, who had spent the previous year in Bethel planning the school program with a committee of both teachers and community members. The principal had succeeded in unifying the formerly apathetic teachers into a team with high morale committed to an innovative education program. The dormitory director said:

> Those teachers at the beginning of the year were like locomotives waiting for a race. I have never seen teachers do anything so together before.

As an example, the Bethel faculty, disregarding professional privileges, waded knee-deep in the mud to move the furniture into the new school. Still, the new school had its problems, such as not receiving the library books they ordered and having to shut down a month during the middle of the year because of freezing pipes.

The New Program

The program developed for the Bethel Regional High School consisted of the newest concepts in open and relevant education:

- **Behavioral objectives** were developed for each course, and these lists were incorporated into the "Educational Philosophy and Proposed Goals of Education for the Bethel Regional High School," a policy statement adopted by the curriculum steering committee.

- **Culturally relevant courses** were introduced which focused on such subjects as survival on the tundra, Eskimo art, and Native land claims.

- **A no-fail grading system** was adopted where students received course credit instead of grades for work completed in a course. This innovation was especially designed for village students, who in the past had often left early in the spring for hunting and lost credit for the entire semester.

- **An Open-Entry/Open-Exit Language Arts Program** was established for village freshmen. This program provided an open classroom atmosphere in which students could work on individualized assignments at their own pace and exit to the regular program when ready.

- **A Modular Scheduling System** was the high point of the program. It divided the school day into 15-minute blocks, and the teachers offered courses of different length depending on course requirements. Thus, a science laboratory might be scheduled for eight blocks (2 hours) and a writing conference for two blocks (half an hour). Students were free to select a varying time schedule of courses each day which would hopefully teach them to use their free time responsibly.

Failure of the Program

At the end of the school year, this innovative program had fallen apart. The modular scheduling, together with the philosophy that students should be free to come to class if they found the class interesting, resulted in an absenteeism rate approaching 50 percent. The dormitory director explained:

> With the modular scheduling, the kids can't tell you what classes they're supposed to go to. They are scheduled differently every day of the week. They have large blocks of free time in the middle of the day and they have nowhere to go and nothing to do. The kids never study. I wanted to have a compulsory study hall for kids who were failing but they had nothing to study.

The school administration substantially increased school attendance simply by telling students they were expected to attend class. At this point, absenteeism returned to its previously high but not outrageous level.

The innovation of giving students credit for work completed rather than course grades was not working. Too many students were obtaining too few credits to progress to the next grade. The principal said of one student, "At this rate, it will take him 20 years to get out of high school."

The open-entry, open-exist individualized program did not meet the approval of the school liaison and village parent evaluation committee. The group recommended homework and said the teachers should devote more of their time to directing teaching activities with children and rely less upon materials and teacher-developed learning packages.[4] Some students in the individualized program were also dissatisfied about the lack of friendly group life. One said:

> I don't like it very much. They never have you in groups.

Many students and village parents also complained about the irrelevance of the Native culture program. One student in our group asserted that he needed to learn how to survive in college, not on the tundra, and furthermore, if he went on the tundra, he knew enough to take along a compass. Another student in our group said that the Eskimo arts program was nothing but basket weaving. What he liked about the Bethel High School curriculum was the printing program. Many village parents and Bethel parents complained that the principal had put only the radicals on the curriculum committee. A Bethel mother said:

> The silent majority wants subjects taught, not survival and Native arts and crafts. When I go back home (to a neighboring village) and people tell me, 'What am I going to do? I send my daughter into Bethel for high school and they send her back only a basket weaver?'

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[4] Leo St. John, "Educational Needs of Students Within the A.V.C.P. Corporate Regions, as Determined by Recent Assessments: A Preliminary Summary and Implications for the Bethel Southwestern Regional High School's Continued Development," Unpublished Paper, Bethel Southwestern Regional High School (February 18, 1973) p. 10.

The new principal was demoralized, both over the failure of his program and the difficulties he and his family were having living in the town. He primarily talked about how he had send out over a hundred job applications and stated:

> I am getting out of here next year if my family has to live on food stamps.

The teachers were shaken and puzzled as to what had happened. The school board was upset, and one member said:

> This is an experimental school. They've been experimenting on our kids.

The students were disgusted and complained that they were not learning anything. One student in our group said "they hardly teach here." Another asked us to help him transfer because "I can't get to college from here." We found it difficult to learn much about achievement gains because of the high absenteeism and drop-out rates. Only seven students were available for testing.[5]

Bad Teachers Are Not the Problem

Most observers blamed the problems in the Bethel High School on "bad teachers." The teachers, they said, were in Bethel only for the money and did not care about the students. This was not really true, however. At the beginning of the year, the teachers had been committed to the new program and had spent many hours planning their classes. But as the year progressed, many members of the school staff became victims of town and school environment just as the students had.

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[5] These seven students gained on the average a .58 grade level in reading achievement, but most of the gain was attributable to an unusually high score made by one student. With such small numbers, these results provide little information.

Our interviews with teachers (and other research[6]) suggested that salary was only a minor consideration in the teachers' decisions to teach in Bethel. Most teachers were motivated by the adventure of teaching culturally different children as well as by the desire to escape larger cities for an exotic wilderness where they could hunt and fish. Bethel, however, provided none of these satisfactions. The students' absenteeism and lack of progress did not reward teaching efforts and many teachers gave up. Nor did Bethel fulfill many teachers' visions of an exotic wilderness. While the village children in the area liked the flat landscape where there were "no trees to block your view," many teachers "hated the mud flats and the days of clouded-over gray." Bethel with its stores and cars seemed to the teachers much more like an ordinary American town than an interesting village. Yet, it had few of the conveniences and entertainments of an ordinary American town.

Teachers were also angered and demoralized by being under constant attack by Bethel's radical faction. One teacher recalled:

> At that first orientation meeting, this guy got up and said, 'Native people can hire and fire. If I see you downtown before school is out, I will fire you. If you pressure our kids, I'll have your ass.'

Such attitudes may have been part of the reason teachers made few academic demands on the students. While the teachers denied it, several Bethel students told us that their teachers were afraid of the Native leaders' children.

In addition, the town's health problems sapped the teachers' energies. One teaching couple expressed a common view:

> Usually we are healthy, but now we are sick enough to stay home at least once a week. When we came out here, we had great ideas about helping people, but now we just want to stay healthy and get out.

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[6] See W. G. Ross and A. G. Westgate, "Northern Teaching: Incentives and Motivations," *Arctic*, 26:2 (1973) 160-162.

While many exceptional teachers and students survived the destructive pressures of Bethel, many others were discouraged by their lack of teaching progress, continual attacks by town residents, health problems and lack of amusement. According to the school staff, until the teacher surplus made transfers difficult, about 70 percent of the teachers transferred each year. The high school had six principals in 6 years.

A number of teachers in Bethel believed that the problems in the town, especially over the long winter, lead to a "Bethel paranoia." One teacher said:

> Whites deteriorate in Bethel. They get depressed and weepy and irrational and start wrting their memoirs. Some teachers were disturbed about the destructive personality changes they saw in themselves and felt that they were losing their sense of values. Our requests to school staff to evaluate village students' adjustment over the year supports this view. Even after giving a long account of the problems village students had experienced during the school year, the Bethel school staff frequently rated the students' adjustment as "good."

Summary

Using very modest criteria of success,[7] the Bethel High School program failed 96 percent (22 out of 23) of the entering 1971-72 village freshmen. Only five boarding home program graduates of the 19 village students graduating from Bethel from

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[7] Our criteria of success of a high school program for a village student was that the student (1) stayed in the program, (2) did not develop severe or moderately severe school-related social and emotional problems (mild school-related problems are not considered school failure), (3) gained at least half the expected amount in reading achievement.

1970-1972 entered college, and only one of these succeeded.[8] At a cost of considerably over $5000 per student, the major result of the Bethel High School program was to create social and emotional problems, not educational achievement in village students.

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[8] Our criteria of college success was completing 7.5 credits while maintaining a 2.0 grade point average. See Karen Kohout and Judith Kleinfeld, *Alaska Natives in Alaska Higher Education*, Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research. 1974. (forthcoming).

CHAPTER THREE
BELTZ BOARDING SCHOOL/NOME-BELTZ REGIONAL HIGH SCHOOL

Beltz illustrates a most peculiar pattern. During 1971-72, village students at Beltz did quite well. Only 33 percent (12 out of 36) of the village freshmen developed school-related social and emotional problems, and most were mild difficulties. Only 8 percent of these students had drinking problems, which was about the same percentage that teachers reported had drinking problems in the village. No one was reported to use drugs, and only one of the freshmen got in trouble with the law. Over the 7-month testing period, the village freshmen gained considerably over 7 months in reading achievement. The drop-out rate at Beltz was miniscule 3 percent, and the school had a long waiting list of students eager to get in.

Yet, when village students left the boarding school, they were conspicuous for their high rate of failure. Again, it must be kept in mind that many Beltz students did very well after graduation. But in Upward Bound programs, in the Dillingham Foreign Study Program, in vocational training programs, and in college, the Beltz students frequently stood out for their inability to adjust. They were especially likely to have negative attitudes, drinking problems, destructive involvements with GI's, and difficulties in establishing relationships, not only with white adults but also with other Native students. One college counselor reported:

> The Beltz kids are our crybabies, drunks, fighters. They constantly complain they're bored and want us to entertain them. They stick to themselves as a group and won't be friendly with the other kids. Everyone else comes to our apartment and talks, but with them we have to put a note on the door asking them to come. Then, when they do come, they ask what they've done wrong.

The second puzzle is that during 1972-73, problems in the dormitory suddenly skyrocketed. Among our group of students, school-related social and emotional problems rose to 81 percent (25 out of 31), and most of these problems were severe or moderately severe. Drinking problems in the group increased to 40 percent (14 out of 35). The drop-out rate at the school rose to 31 percent, and the dormitory was partly empty because so few students wanted to attend. Beltz dormitory, in short, developed the severe drinking problems, vandalism, violence, and suicide threats and attempts that are often reported in boarding schools.

What is responsible for this dramatic increase in social problems in the dormitory?

Why did Beltz fail to prepare village students for the demands of life outside of a boarding school even during the period when the boarding school seemed to be functioning well, social problems were low, and academic progress high?

Beltz Boarding School in 1971-72

In 1971-72, Beltz enrolled 160 students drawn from villages in the Seward Peninsula area. Beltz is located 3-1/2 miles outside of Nome, a regional town with a high level of social problems. The town had a negative influence on Beltz students, although not as severe as in Bethel. Beltz students, for example, obtained liquor in town or paid others who would buy it for them and hide it outside the dormitory in the snow. Another aspect of the town's negative influence was when parents of Beltz students became intoxicated in town and then came to visit them in the dormitory or, just as bad, went home without visiting them because they did not wish their children to see them intoxicated. That the town's influence on the Beltz dormitory students was not as severe as the town's influence on Bethel students resulted in part from the dormitory being several miles from town. While some students could run into town themselves, most went to town only a few times a week on the school bus.

The School Program

In 1971-72, Beltz was a conventional high school offering the standard curriculum of such subjects as English, social students, mathematics, and industrial arts. Students were generally quiet and withdrawn in class, but they worked conscientiously.

For entering freshmen, a quite successful "team-teaching/no bells" program was established during 1971-72. Indeed, this program exemplified the type of flexible, informal, open teaching approach that later failed both at Bethel and at Beltz, when, during the following year, it was self-consciously attempted under the banner of "freedom in education."

Several Beltz teachers decided that the village freshmen would make a better transition to high school through a concentrated English and social studies program taught in a relaxed, informal atmosphere. They designed the program, secured a Title I grant, divided up the teaching responsibilities among a group of four instructors, and moved students from group to group, depending on the type of instruction occurring. This program developed an embryonic feeling of class unity among the freshmen and led to higher-than-usual class participation.

The group of Beltz students we were following made good academic progress during this year. In reading achievement, the 33 students tested progressed .86 of a grade over the 7-month testing period. In language achievement, gains were lower with the freshmen gaining .37 of a grade.

Gains by Beltz students in reading achievement and language achievement over their freshman and sophomore years were almost identical to the gains of the village students who had gone to high school in Anchorage. For example, in reading achievement, the 18 remaining sophomores tested at Beltz gained 1.7 years while the 14 remaining students tested in Anchorage gained 1.64 years. While the number of students involved is small, these results are consistent with large scale research which has found no significant difference in achievement gains of Indian students who attend public schools versus boarding schools.[1]

Yet, Beltz graduates frequently felt that they had received a bad education which did not prepare them for adult life. For example, while only 30 of the 72 Beltz graduates whose addresses could be located returned our questionnaires, only two of these graduates made positive evaluations of their high school education. Most of their complaints centered around what they believed to be an inferior education which resulted in lack of self-confidence. One wrote:

> The Beltz High School was a little behind in its teaching standards. I feel that if a person would take up subjects to follow up in college for preparation he would be a lot better off. The school provided a lot of high school diplomas without enough education to back the diplomas.

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[1] W. P. Bass. *An Analysis of Academic Achievement of Indian High School Students in Federal and Public Schools*, Albuquerque, New Mexico: Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, 1971.

It is quite possible that teaching standards at Beltz were lower in earlier years. However, graduates from all-Native boarding schools frequently say that they do not think that they have learned as much as their friends who go to integrated schools.

The Dormitory

The later difficulties of the Beltz students appeared to arise largely from the type of learning that occurred in the dormitory. It was in the dormitory that students spent most of their time, formed the emotional relationships significant in their lives, and acquired important values and attitudes. Yet, the attitudes and styles of behavior that led to success in the dormitory were often self-defeating when transferred outside.

Lack of Adult Guidance: The dormitory removed village students from the influence of adults in the village but failed to provide any adult guidance itself. Little meaningful personal contact occurred between village students and any responsible adult. This did not result at all from sloth or unconcern on the part of the staff. Quite the contrary, the staff frequently put in 12-hour work days and were on call all night and weekend. The staff had little time to develop the needed informal, personal relationships with students, partially because it takes a tremendous amount of time to run a dormitory, especially in a remote location. The staff, just to maintain the dormitory, were forced to spend most of their time on tasks which had little to do with students. The dormitory director, for example, spent much of his day supervising plant construction and maintenance and establishing good relationships with the school staff, the town, the dormitory control board, and the students' parents. The counselor spent most of his day supervising the dormitory attendants so that his role ended up being more assistant dormitory director than counselor.

In addition to the professional staff, dormitory attendants were available to students. In 1971-72, the girls' and the boys' wings were each supervised by a dormitory aide. These aides were usually Eskimos who were expected to serve as counselors and role models for the students. However, it was quite difficult to obtain good dormitory aides, especially men, who would stay at the school. Dormitory aides received low pay, low status, and had inconvenient working hours. The routine work involved in supervising 80 students (answering the telephone, providing aspirin, etc.) left them little time for counseling. And even if they found time, their low status as dormitory aides undermined their function as a role model. One aide told me:

> I tell the girls to study real hard so they won't end up nothing but a dormitory attendant like me.

In the 1971-72 school year, a very unusual situation occurred at Beltz. Two teachers lived in the dormitory with the students. These teachers paid for their room and board by assisting the recreation director in supervising activities (an arrangement greatly resented by other teachers who looked upon the arrangement as free room and board). In our interviews with students, these teachers were almost the only adults whom students mentioned as influential. In the evening, students visited these teachers in their apartments. One of the teachers used the especially effective practice of going into the boy's dormitory when lights were out and talking to them about the world outside of school, his own experience in growing up, and his ideas of what a teacher should do. Because of this personal contact in an emotionally effective setting, students took his ideas seriously. One student wrote in her diary:

> Yesterday, Mr. B. got really mad at us. He meant well. Everything he said was true. I thought about how he said things so that I or the others can cooperate. Cooperation is a big word. I would like to hear Mr. B. yell at me again.

Having teachers live in the dormitory with the students and educate them in intimate, informal settings is traditional at fine private boarding schools. Such a situation is not typical, however, in public boarding schools, and it ended at Beltz in the following school year. Moreover, even during the 1971-72 school year, the two lone teachers could provide little adult guidance and emotional support for 160 students.

Lack of Educational Program: The essence of the educational program in fine private boarding schools is considered to occur outside of the classroom. In boarding schools for upper class children, for example, school activities, such as sports and clubs, are planned to achieve character development goals. The school staff organizes and supervises these activities as well as the academic program. These fine boarding schools are structured as total educational communities. They uphold clear values (supported by students' parents) and foster extensive informal contacts between students and school staff.

The Beltz dormitory, however, had no such educational goals. The dormitory staff viewed their primary function, not as education, but as providing a home life and recreation for the students. Some attempts were made to teach Eskimo art or health information, but the dormitory for the most part was little more than a housing program.

The divorce of the dormitory from educational concerns occurred in part because of the administrative division between the dormitory and the school. Each was under the control of a separate, competing agency, and each had a separate, competing staff. Rather than working together, the school and the dormitory staffs were in continual dispute. These conflicts arose over every issue, from sharing maintenance personnel to ideas on how students should use their free time.

The school staff argued, for example, that the dormitory staff should make the students study. The dormitory staff, in turn, agreed to establish a quiet hour but insisted that the dormitory was the students' home and should be inviolate from school pressures. The dormitory staff complained about the teachers' lack of interest in students outside of the classroom. The school staff, on the other hand, complained that the dormitory staff had no interest in the students' academic activities and became enraged when the dormitory sent students home for dormitory behavior when the student was doing well in school.

In addition to this problem of separate staffs, the dormitory staff had little time to organize educational activities out of the classroom, even if they had wanted to. The forms of student government were set up—a teen court, student council, and recreation council. But the staff was not able to work closely with the students, and the students had little notion of what these organizations were. Housekeeping was the only important, responsible, out-of-school activity in which students were involved. They were organized into work groups, and student leaders were responsible for seeing that the students did their work detail. Dormitory students learned to behave autonomously, primarily in the area of housekeeping. Indeed, a college counselor remarked that "Beltz kids are the only ones who come in on their own to ask for wax and a buffer."

The dormitory staff also did not organize educational activities, because their emotional and intellectual energies were almost totally absorbed by a few disruptive students. During 1971-72, drinking and violence at Beltz was confined primarily to 15 to 20 students. However, as few as three hysterically drunk students in a dormitory of 160 can tie up an entire dormitory staff, when for example, these students are threatening other students with knives or trying to set the dormitory on fire. And, even after such an event passes, the trauma does not. Most of the staff's thoughts and energies were devoted to worrying about why these things happened (whether or not it was their fault), and what, if anything, could be done to prevent them. Students, who caused no problems were often ignored. When we asked about a well-behaved student in our group, a typical response was, "Oh, she's one of the good ones who just fades into the woodwork."

Peer Group Socialization

Given the absence of educational influences from the school, village students were socialized almost entirely by their peer group. Most students had relatives and friends from home at the school. It was to these peers that village students turned for emotional support and guidance.

The peer groups were organized primarily on the basis of village and sex, as in the "Teller boys." Signs on students' rooms proclaimed for example, that this was the "Shishmaref Room." Such cohesive peer groups, often based on growing up in the same neighborhood, are common among adolescents.[2] But at a boarding school, where students are away from their families, peer group influences are far more pervasive. Peer groups at Beltz roomed together, ate together, and spent their free time talking with each other. For all the benefit students received from getting to know other students at the school, they might as well have remained at home in the village.

These strong, cohesive peer groups, however, provided important benefits for village children. First, they substantially reduced the stress of leaving home and adapting to the demands of the boarding school. When they came from the same village, older students taught the younger students the school routine and took care of them. Second, these cohesive peer groups in 1971-72 were able to contain drinking problems within particular groups of students. Beginning village freshmen were often highly ambivalent about drinking and could go either way depending on the types of pressure around them. As one student expressed this ambivalence:

> Let me tell you something that my parents wouldn't like. I know you won't believe me because I didn't believe myself. It was on Friday

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[2] For a discussion of peer groups among non-Native students, see Philip A. Cusick, *Inside High Schools: The Students' World*, New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1973.

> night that I got drunk. I was having fun. I felt that I was full of whisky. I'm kidding, you know. I really don't know how to drink, so I want to but I don't want to.

When those students who had no inclinations to drink received support from their village peer group, they generally did not drink.

However, the price of reducing homesickness and containing drinking through tightly knit peer groups was high. In the classroom and especially in the dormitory, these peer groups undermined staff attempts to organize activities or create a school spirit of unity and cooperation. This occurred because of hostility and competition between regional peer groups. One graduate said:

> The high school that I graduated from was a rebellious school. The students from "Up North" (Kotzebue area) and we "Southerners" (Norton Sound) were constantly against each other. We didn't like "Up North" kids because they were always acting like they controlled everything. I don't know their reason for disliking us.

If the northerners became involved in an activity, then the southerners would not participate. In 1971-72, further division occurred because students from St. Lawrence Island formed a third regional peer group, the "Islanders." Each regional group blamed the others for the drinking and fighting that occurred.

Another cost of these cohesive peer groups was that some Beltz students became extremely dependent on each other. Teachers often noted that two students (more visibly in the case of girls but also with boys) behaved as one person. If one left, the other sometimes fell apart. The counselor said of one student in our group:

> She was fine last year, but she got all her support from her cousin, who transferred to another school. Now she's very hostile. There's been a lot of running away and drinking problems. She tried

> to start a fire in the dormitory at 4 a.m. on Saturday morning and kicked me black and blue when I tried to drag her out. She went home for a few days, and I suspect she won't return.

Attitudes Learned in Boarding School Socialization

Village students at Beltz learned to be at ease only within their village or regional peer group. Towards outsiders, they tended to be suspicious and hostile. In contrast to village students at the other schools, Beltz students tended to be more withdrawn and uncommunicative at the end of their freshman year than at the beginning. When we approached, Beltz students usually mumbled a reluctant monosyllable or two and left as soon as possible. Such suspicious attitudes toward other people seemed to cause trouble for Beltz students when they transferred to new situations outside the dormitory. A college counselor pointed out that Beltz students found it difficult to relate not only to white adults but also to other Native students:

> They can't make relationships. They won't say hello to other kids in the dorm. They need a tremendous amount of group support before they will take part in any new activity.

Another counselor, who observed Beltz students on a travel program, made the similar observation that "Beltz students seem unusually threatened by interaction with different students."

What village students seemed to be learning at Beltz also was to act in passive, dependent, and socialiy irresponsible ways. This was in contrast to life in the village where adolescents are responsible for performing important family chores such as getting water and caring for small children. At school, students were responsible only for doing their work detail, and this job had little meaning because it was impersonal. Students did not see a few hours' work (which reduced boarding costs to taxpayers) as helping people they knew and cared about. Students at Beltz were not even given responsibility for developing activities to amuse themselves. They passively accepted the movies, dances, and other activities planned for them, and later in nonschool situations they often expected to be similarly entertained. One Beltz counselor commented:

> We tell them to be responsible, but...(they have)...nothing real to be responsible...(for). They're just like little robins in the nest, squeaking for us, like Mommy, to give them a worm.

Students at Beltz also received the impression that standards and rules were arbitrary and chaotic. The staff, however, saw their constantly shifting policies as worthy attempts to find some new, more effective method of dealing with the problem of student drinking. They saw as enlightened and commendable their policy of treating every student's drinking on an "individual basis." However, the changing policies resulted in a society where law seemed shifty and arbitrary—a society where no law was fairly and uniformly applied.

Despite the negative attitudes and styles of behavior the school was developing in the students, Beltz Boarding School in 1971-72 did not have the intense social problems that plagued other boarding schools. They did not develop in part because of the low degree of stress in the boarding school environment and in part because of the emotional security and insulation from drinking pressures provided by cohesive village peer groups. Still, Beltz failed to provide positive developmental influences because of the lack of personal contact between adults and students and the lack of education outside the narrow academic goals of the classroom. This type of boarding school environment seemed to be teaching students suspicion, passivity, and dependency.

The Nome-Beltz Regional High School 1972-73

In 1972-73, the staff and student body at Beltz Boarding School consolidated with the Nome public school so that the village students supposedly could benefit from integration and the Nome students from the modern school facilities. The new student body consisted of 367 students, of which 249 were Nome students. Only 51 of the Nome students were white, and the rest were town Eskimo. A new library/media center designed as an open classroom was added to the school plant and a new school board, composed of Nome and village representatives, was appointed.

The village students at Beltz as well as many of the Beltz teachers strongly opposed consolidation. Rivalries existed between Nome and Beltz students (and indeed had helped to create school unity at Beltz). Nome students sometimes made fun of Beltz students during town visits. Beltz students feared consolidation so much that on our questionnaires, only 6 percent of the freshmen wanted to return to Beltz the following year.

In addition to these school changes, the key dormitory staff also changed and the number of staff was reduced. The former dormitory director left. He had been at Beltz for several years and knew many of the students and their families personally. A budget cut reduced the number of dormitory attendants.

The students living in the Beltz dormitory during the 1972-73 school year were no different from the students living in the dormitory during the previous year. Yet, drinking, violence, vandalism, and suicide attempts increased many times. The Human Rights Commission called in to investigate, found:[3]

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[3] Nome-Beltz Regional School Study 1973, Shirley Woodrow and Willie Ratcliffe, Alaska State Commission on Human Rights, Anchorage, Alaska.

- Severe vandalism of the dormitory necessitating extensive repairs. Students had broken windows and torn up dormitory furniture. In the boys' side, one closet was being used as a toilet.

- Severe violence in the dormitory requiring the State Troopers to come out at least once each Friday and Saturday night.

- Use of Thorazine injections to calm violent student drinkers.

The trouble precipitating the Human Rights Comission's visit was the drinking and violence that occurred on a December weekend. On Friday night, about 25 students were intoxicated; one had a badly cut hand from thrusting his fist through the window. On Saturday night, similar drinking occurred and a student tried to jump out the window. The staff at the school reported that one student was flashing a knife and another threatening students with a belt. Several students made vague suicide threats, saying, "I don't care what happens to me" and that the staff can "do nothing to stop me."

While this was a bad weekend, dormitory staff reported it was not an extraordinary weekend. A similar weekend of drinking and violence recurred in April when 11 boys ended up in jail.

The town was scandalized at the events in the dormitory, which became even more bizarre with each retelling. Even former Beltz teachers, previously committed to the welfare of dormitory students, now referred to the dormitory as the "zoo" or the "fun farm."

The processes through which changes in the Nome-Beltz school environment increased drinking and violence appeared to be:

- External stress on dormitory students increased because of hostile town students, a disorganized school program, and lack of recreation outlets.

- External restraint on drinking and violence decreased because of the laissez-faire administrative policy of "democratic freedom."

- Drinking, violence, and anti-white attitudes became firmly entrenched as peer group values and the route to status at Beltz. After this occurred, little could be done.

Increase in External Stress

With the Nome-Beltz consolidation, the former moderately friendly school atmosphere changed to hostility. The conflict was not racial. Rather, it was the scorn of the "city slicks" for the "country hicks." Nome students mocked the shy, retiring village students, called them "dogs," and wrote nasty messages about them on the bathroom walls. Beltz students disapproved of the town students for their agression, noisiness, and disrespect toward teachers.

With the arrival of the more dominant Nome students, Beltz students felt that they had "lost" their school. This feeling was symbolized by a misguided election in which school colors and a mascot were chosen early in the year. Rather than choosing between entirely new school symbols, the students were given choices which included both the former Nome High School and former Beltz High School symbols. Predictably, since the dormitory students were outnumbered, the blue and white Nome colors and Nome mascot won.

At this point, dormitory students with a few exceptions refused to participate in school activities. Only two dormitory students came out regularly for intramural basketball. Only one dormitory student participated in chorus. For the most part, dormitory students took no interest in school games or other events.

Frightened of the aggressive town students, dormitory students also withdrew in class. One very bright student in our group was so afraid of the Nome students that she could not read aloud in front of them. Dormitory students retreated to the back of the classroom and rarely spoke even to the former Beltz teachers they had known before. Some hid in the dormitory and refused to go to class at all. One very outgoing girl in our group came in to the nurse crying, "I don't like it here anymore. I don't want to go to school. I have a headache and a stomachache today."

At first the teachers, especially the former Beltz teachers, made determined efforts to make the village students part of the school. For example, when none of the dormitory students tried out for cheerleading, the teacher in charge made special attempts to get them to participate. However, two of the three dormitory students finally selected for the B team cheerleading squad quit. Another former Beltz teacher offered to take students on an overnight ski trip. Only Nome students signed up. If the Nome students participated, the dormitory students would not. Since nothing they did seemed to make much difference, the teachers gave up trying. Moreover, other difficulties at the school dominated the staff's time and energies.

School Politics

These other difficulties centered around the "open classroom" that was supposed to be established in the new library/media center. The informal, open program for freshmen that a few teachers had easily established the year before now evolved into a self-conscious attempt to create a new political order rather than an attempt to teach more effectively; as such, it ceased to work. The teachers divided into liberals versus conservatives and could agree on no unified program. Some of the teachers wanted a free school with no rules, bells, or attendance taken. One teacher said, "If I can't turn them on, then the kids shouldn't bother coming to my class." Other teachers wanted discipline, bells, and authority. Unlike Bethel, where the principal was committed to the open classroom concept and had unified the staff in support of the plan, the Nome-Beltz Program received no strong administrative direction. The fighting between the teachers over the school program and other issues continued throughout the year and the end result was exhaustion. A sign in the teachers lounge proclaimed that the year ended "not with a bang but with a whimper."

Effects on Students

The effects of these school policies on Nome students were similar to what had occurred at Bethel. Absenteeism broke all records. On four randomly selected days, between 37 percent and 53 percent of the students were absent for one or more periods. At one point, some dormitory students refused to go to school until "the teachers stopped fighting." Observation of the classrooms at Nome-Beltz, as in Bethel, indicated many students milling around. There were, however, exceptions to this in the classrooms of a few outstanding teachers.

Beltz students began to complain that they were bored and were not learning anything. Our achievement tests, however, suggested that Beltz students, during their sophomore year, progressed reasonably well, about as well as they had done the previous year. The students tested gained .7 of a year in reading achievement; and .5 of a year in language achievement.[4] What had declined was the students' commitment toward schoolwork. In contrast to their positive attitudes and hard work on the tests at the end of their freshman year, Beltz students now called it

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[4] Fifteen students were tested for reading achievement, 14 for language achievement.

"slavery" to take a test since they were in a free school. Some left the room in the middle of the test. Others didn't bother to come at all.

The dormitory students, angry and frustrated by the hostility of the Nome students and the confused school program, had no way to release their feelings in recreational activities. Previously, Beltz students had taken great interest in school activities, but now they refused to participate. Due to budget cuts, fewer adults were available to supervise recreation so fewer activities were available in the dormitory. After class and on weekends, groups of bored students just milled around the halls of the dormitory. As one student in our group summed it up:

> I'm tired of cheap Beltz. Too dead. I hate being bored all the time, and it makes me sick.

Decrease in External Restraints

Getting drunk and going wild became a popular form of entertainment at Beltz. The staff did little to restrain students because of new dormitory policies.

The dormitory director had begun policies of "democratic freedom" and "reinforcing only positive behavior and ignoring negative behavior." The dormitory attendants were instructed that students were mature adults who would be treated as responsible for themselves. The staff was told to pay no attention to bad behavior, because attention just rewarded it.

The staff did not agree with these policies and were outraged by the students' behavior. An experienced Native kitchen worker said:

> (The director) tells us not to yell at students. She insists we ask them to do everything. You've got to yell at them. You can do it in a nice way. We

> joke around. In the kitchen we expect them to behave. This place should be given over to the Catholics or Covenants. They believe in discipline.

The dormitory aides said that the students mocked and defied them by sipping from bottles right in front of their faces. At times, some students kicked and slugged the attendants. The dorm aides retreated to the office, often afraid to go out. Not until the Human Rights Commission's visit did dormitory attendants feel their power had been restored.

The increase in drinking and violence in the dormitory was hardest on the more stable, talented students. Since too few dormitory staff were available to hold down the large number of wild drinkers, the better students were pressed into service. Night after night of restraining their friends left them upset and made it hard for them to sleep or to concentrate in school.

Entrenchment of Drinking, Violence, and Antiwhite Feelings as Peer Group Norms

The stress of the changed school situation and the initial laissez-faire policies of the dormitory staff were largely responsible for the initial rise in drinking and violence at the school. But even after the students became accustomed to the school program and after "law and order" policies were established in the dormitory, these problems remained at high level.

Drinking problems did not diminish, because drinking and violence had become the established way to achieve status in the peer group. Teachers noted, for example, that students had begun to brag about their hangovers. The dormitory staff noted that the leading drinkers were leaders in other activities, such as the class officers and the stars of the Eskimo Olympics. The staff also observed that expelling the worst student drinkers did not affect the level of drinking in the dorm. When the heavy drinkers were expelled, new ones rose to take their place, even students who had never drunk before.

Beltz students also tended to develop strong antiwhite attitudes which became entrenched as peer group norms. When village students enter high school, many hold somewhat negative or suspicious attitudes towards whites based on early experience. While these feelings usually smoulder beneath the surface, frustrations in the dormitory, especially bad experiences with some white dormitory staff, can cause antiwhite feelings to erupt and solidify. As one Beltz graduate explained these feelings:

> They (the dormitory attendants) make you feel like the whole world hates you, or something like the white people hates the Natives or white people wants the Natives to have poor education or white people wants to do better than Natives.

Students blamed their frustrations during the 1972-73 year on certain disliked dormitory staff and showed hostility toward many whites in the dormitory. One student in our group, for example, hit three white girls living in the dormitory while he was sober. The reason he gave was because "they were white." When two white college students came to the dormitory to help out with the recreation program, few students would participate with or talk to the visitors. One of the college students noted:

> You can't get the kids interested in anything. We constantly try things like paintings murals on the walls. No one helps for long except this one boy who says he likes whites better than Eskimos.

The dormitory staff attempted to correct the situation by establishing an "Honors List" for good school behavior. Making the "Honors List," however, gained little status in the peer group. Consequently, this policy had little effect in increasing positive behavior. When a special movie was made available for Honors List students, only 4 of the 45 eligible students showed up.

The causal processes underlying the dramatic increase in the level of drinking and violence among Beltz dormitory students in the 1973 school year can be clarified through a famous experiment in social psychology. This experiment[5] was used to investigate the effects of environmental stress and three different styles of adult leadership on aggressive behavior in boys' clubs. In the "authoritarian" style, the leader dictated all tasks. In the "democratic" style, the leader suggested different goals and participated in the group's decision making and activities. In the "laissez-faire" style, the leader was present but he allowed students freedom and did not participate. (The leadership at Beltz in attempting to avoid an authoritarian style was *not* democratic but laissez-faire.)

This experiment found that the laissez-faire leadership style led to the highest level of aggression in the group. Moreover, aggression became even greater in situations where external stress increased through (1) the presence of a hostile and critical stranger, and (2) the group's own boredom due to lack of accomplishment. The parallel to Beltz in 1973 is obvious.

Summary

Using our modest criteria of success[6], Beltz failed 67 percent of the 42 village freshmen who entered the school in 1971-72. Of the 91 graduates from 1970-72, 23 entered college, but only 7 succeeded. The low levels of social problems at Beltz during the 1971-72 year and the high rate of academic progress suggests that many of the conspicuous problems of boarding schools for village children could be avoided by particular school policies. But, even when such problems are avoided, our study of Beltz graduates suggests that such boarding school experiences often develop attitudes and styles of behavior that handicap students in later adult life.

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[5] K. Lewin, R. Lippit, and R. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created 'Social Climates,'" *Journal of Social Psychology* 10 (1939) 271-299.

[6] Our criteria of success of a high school program for a village student was that the student: (1) stayed in the program, (2) did not develop severe or moderately severe school-related social and emotional problems (mild school-related problems are not considered school failure), (3) gained at least half the expected amount in reading achievement (see Appendix I).

CHAPTER FOUR
THE ANCHORAGE BOARDING HOME PROGRAM

The effects of the Anchorage Boarding Home Program on village students are complicated. A small group of academically talented village students thrived in the program, especially those placed with outstanding boarding home families. However, the program was a failure for the majority of village students who entered it.

Graduates of the Program

Only a small percentage of those who entered the Anchorage Boarding Home Program remained to graduate. Those who did graduate, however, were unusually successful as a group. They had the highest rate of post-high school success, both in college and other pursuits. Of the 65 graduates from the 1970-72 period, 13 had entered college and 8 were successful. Two of these graduates were doing well at selective colleges outside Alaska. Of those students who returned to the village, one became a well-known village council president and another a village mayor. Both in interviews and in essay responses to our questionnaires, these Anchorage Boarding Home Program graduates were remarkable for their highly developed analytical abilities and their sophisticated, balanced views of complicated issues.

The higher success rate of the Boarding Home Program graduates resulted both from the type of student who was able to stay in the program and from the educational benefits provided by the program. Those who remained were not a typical group of Native students. And for this small group, the Anchorage program was quite valuable.

Much of the positive educational influences of the Anchorage program came from the boarding home family. When boarding home students were placed with very good boarding home families with whom they could develop long-term relationships, the experience was quite beneficial. The value of such an experience was revealed in one graduate's remarks:

> It was a great family. I learned a lot from them. They talked to me about philosophy, about life, about being a Native, about psychology. My boarding home mother would analyze things with me and talk about how I was feeling. I began to think a lot. What my boarding home parents said really affected me and my behavior. When I came to the University, I would do things and remember how my boarding home mother would talk to me about that.

Other successful graduates, although not having the advantage of excellent boarding homes, had the personal strength and motivation to survive the bad ones. As one graduate summed up the boarding home family situation:

> There are a lot of good homes, but there are bad ones too. While going to school the 4 years, I stayed at seven different homes. Four of them were really good homes. If I could, I would stay with them again. The other three were pretty bad. I think they were just taking care of us for the money. They were overcrowded and two of them served pretty bad food. The longest I stayed at one of these places was a month and a half. At the better homes I spent 1-1/2 years. Even started calling my boarding parents mom and pop.

Boarding home program graduates often pointed out that getting to know their boarding home family made them realize that whites were just people, some good and some bad. One such graduate said:

> Kids who went to dormitory schools are more against white people. It must be relationships in the dorm. Kids in a boarding home live with a family and there's a better relationship. It goes both ways, but kids mature faster in a family.

Many graduates felt that the boarding home program gave them an advantage because they got to see how other people lived, and it was a good way of meeting different people. Several pointed out that it was easier to make white friends in early years of the program before so many Boarding Home Program students were placed in a school. One student said:

> When I was in the ninth grade, there weren't so many Natives so I made white friends. If you were willing to talk, white kids would be your friends. But the Native had to make the first effort. When a lot of Natives got together, then it was harder to make white friends.

When many village students entered the program, the Native students formed a separate, cohesive peer group. Native students could not easily make friends with other students at the school if they wanted to remain friends with other village students, because they faced disapproval from the Native peer group.

Unlike graduates from the other schools studied, no graduate from the Anchorage Boarding Home Program complained that he had not learned anything in school. On the contrary, many students pointed out that they had learned quite a lot in high school, and knowing they had learned a good deal gave them self-confidence.

> I think the high school I graduated from made me proud of myself, even though I wasn't excited

> through the times I've attended. Now I can be going through life with the knowledge of what I've learned.
>
> Dimond High School is an excellent school. If I had to go back to high school, Dimond High would be my first choice. They have a wide selection of classes for someone who wants to learn something.

Students who had the academic skills to do well in school were less likely to feel threatened by the prejudice of some of the urban students. As one said:

> It was a nice high school. Said to have racial problems. It wasn't that bad. I learned a lot about the people. Few people were prejudiced.

Where a student's academic performance was low, however, he was especially likely to perceive widespread prejudice and feel that the teachers were uninterested in him.

> The buildings were nice, but the subjects of which I took were very demanding. The teachers went too fast. They didn't care or seem to care about the student.

The Anchorage Boarding Home Program, in sum, had different effects on students depending on the background and personal attributes of the individual student and the types of boarding homes in which they were placed. These graduates could be divided into three groups. One group consisted of academically talented students who were fairly acculturated before entering the program. Even when placed in mediocre boarding homes, they took advantage of the educational opportunities in Anchorage and generally did well afterwards. The following student is typical of this group.

> James is five-eighths Eskimo. Both his parents graduated from high school. His father is a store manager, and his mother is a teacher's aide. James

> graduated in the top 5 percent of his Anchorage high school class and is presently doing well in a selective Eastern college. After graduation he plans to "attend med school, travel, meet more people, have my fun, and work."
>
> James enclosed a long analysis of the positive and negative aspects of the boarding home program and his recommendations for changing the secondary school situation in Alaska. He strongly felt that the Boarding Home Program should remain open to village students and that he would not have learned as much in a high school at home.

The second group of successful Anchorage graduates tended to be academically talented village students who were not highly acculturated but who were placed in unusually good boarding homes.

> Jane is 100-percent Eskimo. Her parents are not employed and have an elementary grade education. After graduation from the Anchorage Boarding Home Program, she entered the University of Alaska. Her cumulative college grade point average was 3.65. Her dormitory counselor says she is "an organizer in the dormitory, conscientious, a fine person, with solid goals."
>
> During an interview, Jane was confident, articulate, and at ease. She had lived with the same boarding home parents throughout her high school years and said that they had had a great influence on her. She felt bad that her younger sister was forced to remain in a village high school and did not have the opportunities she had.

The third group of graduates showed serious signs of social and emotional disturbance. Some of the girls had married white men of questionable stability and were having marriage problems. Others had drinking problems. As one said:

> When I go back (home) I feel out of place. I start having drinking problems, being between two

> **cultures. Which side am I on? White people or my own people? I feel like that sometimes. I do drink but I try to control myself.**

The reason that few cases of this kind appeared in our follow-up study was probably because so many students who developed in negative directions as a result of the program left Anchorage before they graduated. Such students more typically transferred from school to school with the constantly changing situations contributing to their identity confusion.

Effects on Entering Freshmen

For our group of more typical village freshmen, the Anchorage Boarding Home Program was generally a failure. Many students dropped out or transferred to different schools within the first month of the program because they were homesick and unhappy in a strange, white family. By the end of their sophomore year, only 35 percent (14 out of 40) of our sample of 1971-72 village freshmen remained in Anchorage. Yet, a few students had made excellent progress and were quite satisfied with their Anchorage experience.

School-Related Social and Emotional Problems

The Anchorage Boarding Home Program led to school-related social and emotional problems among 61 percent (21 out of 34) of our freshmen group. Of the sophomores, 38 percent (6 out of 16), suffered from such problems. This reduction occurred in part because many students left the program and in part because a few students made a better personal adjustment during their second year.

Academic Progress

In the Boarding Home Program, village students are exposed to English not only in school but also in their boarding home families and in the city. Such "total immersion" methods of language learning often result in rapid progress. Yet, the boarding home students in Anchorage did not demonstrate unusual growth in reading or language achievement. Village students in Anchorage made good academic progress but their achievement gains were no higher than students in the Beltz dormitory. Students in both schools gained about 1.6 grades in reading achievement and 1 grade in language achievement over their freshman and sophomore years. Possibly progress was not higher in Anchorage, despite the unusual educational opportunities, because students' emotional difficulties interferred with their learning.

Similarly, most village students in Anchorage did not receive much benefit from the wide range of courses available. On the average, students entering Anchorage were reading at 5th-grade level. They were generally placed in an appropriate basic skills program which emphasized elementary reading skills, social studies, and arithmetic. The students took such electives as art, physical education, and typing. During their sophomore year, village students took such specialized courses as ecology or geography. However, all but a few academically talented students did not have the academic preparation to succeed in such courses, and the average grade was "D."

In an attempt to find some course in which village students could succeed, counselors often placed them in classes for slow learners or in work-study programs.

Attitude Changes

The positive effects of the Anchorage Boarding Home Program in developing a better understanding of the world and more ambitious future plans in some students was evident in the attitude changes of village students as revealed on our questionnaires. Of the village students who remained in Anchorage, only 14 percent (2 out of 14) planned to attend college when they entered the program. At the end of their sophomore year, 71 percent (10 out of 14) planned to attend college, the greatest change of any school studied.

Similarly, the occupational goals of village students who entered Anchorage were no different from the goals of students entering other schools studied. At the end of the sophomore year, however, it was only in Anchorage that any students (3 out of 14) planned professional careers. Anchorage students also had more realistic (less stereotyped) occupational plans and did not evidence such common vocabulary errors as saying "electronics" for "electrician."

The Boarding Home Families

Many of the problems of village students in the Boarding Home Program were caused by the differences between cultural values and behavior of the Eskimo students and the white boarding home families.[1] Village students often felt uncomfortable and out of place in the urban home. Some believed that the boarding home parents had low opinions of them because they did not know, for example, how to use a shower or answer the telephone. Since adolescents in the village were generally treated as adults, students resented urban parents' demands to know where they were at all times. Students frequently complained that the parents "treated me like a baby" and "did not trust me." Chores and eating habits also caused serious problems. Male students often resented housekeeping chores that were "women's work" in the village. Boarding home parents became angry when village students, unaccustomed to budgeting food, ate at one sitting, for example, special treats intended to last the whole family for a week.

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[1] These problems and the characteristics of successful and unsuccessful boarding home parents are discussed in detail in Judith Kleinfeld, *Alaska's Urban Boarding Home Program*, Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research; Center for Northern Educational Research, 1972.

In many cases, the year turned into a pitched battle between the parent and the student. As one mother said about a student in our group:

> He doesn't mingle in with the family. He doesn't try. He has a brand new room, and cleaning up is terrible. It's just a mess. The kids should be told a little bit more when they come to town. They've got to learn to ask for things. He will sit there and not ask for syrup when its right on the side of the table. When they come to town, they think our house is a hotel, that they will get steak every night. He is a big eater. I bought 35 hot dogs for 4 kids with buns and potato salad and potato chips. Then he complains to the coordinator there's not enough food.

When placed in very good boarding homes, village students had fewer problems. However, because of the large numbers of village students that had to be placed in homes, the boarding home program coordinator could not be selective. According to the coordinator, only 18 percent of the homes used for the students in our group could be considered "very good" (see Table 4-1).

Characteristics of Successful Boarding Home Parents

The successful boarding home parents in Anchorage were not necessarily altruistically motivated, nor were Native parents likely to be more successful than White. Village students placed with Native families or relatives had fewer problems related to cultural differences but more problems related to family quarrels or arising from relatives' expectations that they volunteer a great deal of their time to help around the house. Similarly, while some boarding home parents who took students "for the money"

Table 4-1. Boarding Homes in Anchorage During Sample Students' Freshman Year 1971-72

		Percent of Total
(Number of Students – 37)		
Number of Boarding Homes Used Per Student		
1 home	26	70%
2 homes	9	24
2 or more homes	2	5
Total	37	
Ethnic Group of Boarding Home Families Used		
White	36	73
Native	5	10
Mixed	8	16
Total	49	
Boarding Coordinator's Rating of Home		
Very Good	9	18
Good	18	37
Adequate	19	39
Less than Adequate	3	8
Total	49	
Number of Students Who Planned to Return to Live With Some Boarding Home Family for Sophomore Year	9 out of 19	47%

economized on food and provided little personal attention, others felt that the student was helping them and they in turn should help the student. Indeed, parents who took village students for purely altruistic reasons quite often proved inadequate. Some regarded the village student as a civic improvement project and could not understand why the student did not appreciate their efforts to turn him or her into a "Native leader" or "Native beauty contest winner."

Successful boarding home parents, first of all, were warm, demonstrative people. They overcame village students' fears of them by direct expressions of affection. As one father said:

> You feel sort of silly telling a 15-year-old girl that you love her. But you've got to do it. They don't have the history of relationships that you have with your own children. They don't know how you feel about them unless you tell them directly.

Second, these successful boarding home parents provided guidance that helped students to resolve cultural conflicts. In a situation of conflicting cultures, they tended to emphasize the more fundamental values that both cultures had in common. For example, the village students were accustomed to coming and going as they pleased. Effective boarding home parents often pointed out that the important value was protecting students. However, there were different dangers in the village and in the city which called for different behavior in each situation. One parent said to his student: "In the village you have to be afraid of wild animals and in the city, wild people."

The School Program

In early years of the Boarding Home Program, village students were placed directly in urban high school classrooms. Unable to follow the fast-paced English of the classroom and afraid of making mistakes before jeering white students, most village students hid in the back of the classroom, refused to open their mouths in class, and learned little.[2]

For this reason, a new program was established in 1970 for village freshmen. Most of the students in our group attended the "Rural Transition Center," a small store-front high school set up exclusively for village students in downtown Anchorage. During the second semester, students took some courses at an Anchorage junior high school. For other village students, most Anchorage high schools established CORE classes, a 2-hour block of English and social studies.

Both the Rural Transition Center and the CORE classes generally provided an excellent educational program, both in terms of classroom psychological climate and curriculum. Unlike most high school teachers, these teachers saw their role not merely as instructor but also as guidance counselor. They often developed personal relationships with students and helped them with nonacademic problems. For example, some CORE teachers found that one reason village students wore their coats to class was that they did not know how to open their lockers. These teachers then spent a great deal of time explaining such things as how to open lockers, how to find particular classes in the school, and the meaning of such words as "prom" and "suspension." Such instruction could not be provided in a typical integrated high school class because some urban students would mock the ignorance of the village students.

The academic curriculum in these special programs for village students emphasized intensive work in English and social studies. The program gave attention to such things as reading a newspaper and discussing current events. While most high school teachers were not prepared to teach the elementary reading skills students needed, the Rural Transition Center employed a teacher competent in this area and also used teaching machines for individualized language programs.

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[2] These problems and the teaching styles of especially successful teachers are discussed in *Effective Teachers of Indian and Eskimo Students*, Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research; Center for Northern Educational Research, 1972.

In contrast to the withdrawn silence of village students in urban high schools, most village students actively participated in the small, informal CORE[3] and Rural Transition Center classes. The achievement values and positive attitudes toward school work of Anchorage boarding home students was evident in our testing program. Students worked seriously, and one or two even tried to do better by working past the test time limits.

These informal, personalized school programs, emphasizing basic skills, were quite successful with typical village students. Yet, the urban school district had difficulty establishing them because high schools were not prepared to provide the elementary level curriculum appropriate to village students' academic preparation. The school district feared charges of segregation if it developed special programs. Also, some students in the programs felt inferior because they were not in the standard high school. The irony of this plan was that village students were taken from the village and placed at great difficulty and expense in Anchorage in an educational program that remarkably resembled a village school.

During their sophomore year, the 14 students remaining from our original group of 40 were generally placed in regular classes in large Anchorage high schools. All but a few were not academically prepared for such classes and had a difficult time. Most of their teachers remembered them as the shy students who were afraid to talk in class and who were doing very badly. As one teacher said:

> She doesn't get in with the class. She seems to feel inferior. They have to feel that someone cares

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[3] An evaluation of a similar CORE program in Fairbanks suggested that village students in these classes made better academic progress. See Franz Klitza, "Informal Teaching Techniques," *Journal of American Indian Education* (October 1971) 12-15.

> before they will work, and I only see them an hour a day. They are always in the minority and that bothers them.

Other teachers were distressed at the poor progress of these students, but they did not know how to help them; they questioned the reason for bringing them to Anchorage at all. One said:

> I'm kind of discouraged. Best I can do is hang in. There were no significant gains in developmental reading between the first and second semester. At least I'm not hurting them. I know the tests are rotten and culturally biased. But then they can't get through biology books and other things.

Summary

The Anchorage Boarding Home Program failed 77 percent (30 out of 39) of our sample of entering 1971-72 freshmen.[4] Despite the educational opportunities in boarding home families and in the city, Anchorage Boarding Home Program students on the average made no greater progress in English skills than did students at the Beltz Boarding School, although progress in both schools was good. For most village students in Anchorage, the availability of specialized courses meant little because students were not academically prepared for them.

For certain unusual village students, however, the Anchorage Boarding Home Program provided important educational benefits. When these students were placed with exceptionally good boarding homes, the parents helped them to resolve cultural conflicts and increase their understanding of the world. The academically talented village students took advantage of the specialized courses available in city schools. These were the students who after graduating from the Anchorage Boarding Home Program tended to be unusually successful in college, or they held important positions in the village. This small group of successful students felt that they had benefitted far more from the urban boarding home program than they could have in a village high school.

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[4] In calculating success, we omitted one student who transferred to another school because of a family move. Our criteria of success of a high school program for a village student was that the student: (1) stayed in the program, (2) did not develop severe or moderately severe school-related social and emotional problems (mild problems are not considered school failure), and (3) gained at least half the expected amount in reading achievement (see Appendix I).

CHAPTER FIVE
VILLAGE HIGH SCHOOLS

In 1972-73, new ninth- and tenth-grade programs were established in several small villages, primarily because of pressure from village parents who wished their children to remain at home. Eskimo parents traditionally place great value on strong family bonds, and separation from children can be a very painful experience.[1] In addition, parents worry about plane crashes or that they or their children will get sick and die and never see each other again. In general, village parents strongly desire high schools at home.

Drop-Out and School-Related Social and Emotional Problems

The drop-out rate in these new ninth and tenth grade village programs was 6 percent, substantially lower than in other types of high schools. Students attending high school at home also had dramatically lower rates of social and emotional problems (see Table 5-1). According to the village teachers surveyed (response rate equals 9 out of 11), only 11 percent of the village ninth and

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[1] Eskimo attitudes toward separation are discussed in Robert Kraus. "Eskimo Suicide." Paper read at the Meeting of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 1973. Kraus suggests that the experience of family separation brought about by hospitalization for tuberculosis or through going away to boarding school can be a contributing factor to suicide among Eskimos.

Table 5-1. Social and Emotional Problems of Freshman and Sophomore Students in Village Ninth and Tenth Grade Programs 1973

Village*	Enrollment of Students from Village	Drinking Problems			Suicide Attempt/ Gesture	Other (e.g., depression hysteria)	Comments
		Mild	Moderate	Severe			
Savoonga	17	2	0	0	0	3	Outside evaluator: none of problems were school-related and two cases improved over school year
Chignik Lagoon	3	0	0	0	0	0	
Togiak	24	0	0	0	0	0	Teacher: six sophomores who had serious behavior problems in Bethel did well when home in village
Noorvik	10	0	0	0	0	0	
Nondalton	9	0	0	0	0	0	

*This information is based on a questionnaire survey of village teachers.

Table 5-1. (continued)

Village*	Enrollment of Students from Village	Drinking Problems			Suicide Attempt/ Gesture	Other (e.g., depression hysteria)	Comments
		Mild	Moderate	Severe			
Nulato	25	5	0	0	0	1	Teacher: some hyperactivity and withdrawal
Sandpoint	30	4	0	1	0	0	Teacher: problems related to home environment but coping reasonably well
Selawik	27	5-6	0	0	0	0	Teacher: minor problems, nothing serious
Kivalina	13	0	0	0	0	"just a few"	Teacher: a few cases of depression and outbreaks of anger, some of which arises from frustration at not being able to go out to high school
TOTALS:	158	16-17 (10.5%)	0 (0%)	1 (.6%)	0 (0%)	4 (2.5%)	

*This information is based on a questionnaire survey of village teachers.

tenth graders in these programs had drinking problems, almost none of which were severe. There were no suicide threats or attempts. Only about 3 percent of the students suffered from other types of social and emotional problems, such as withdrawal in the classroom. Teachers reported that such problems, when they do occur, often resulted from a family situation, and that most students seemed to handle them well. (For example, if a student had trouble at home, he might move in with another family in the village). Only one village teacher reported problems which were school-related. This involved some students who were angry and depressed because they could not leave home for high school.

Such a spectacular decrease in social and emotional problems in village high schools is to be expected when we consider the causes of village students' problems away from home. The students' social and emotional problems were not in the main caused by what happened to them in the high school classroom. Rather, the problems resulted, first of all, from separation from their parents in cultures where traditionally and, to a large extent today, the family is the central source of emotional support and social control. Second, their problems resulted from the negative influences of disorganized regional towns. Third, the problems resulted from the living situation—cultural conflicts in urban boarding home families, social problems in rural boarding home families, and peer group socialization in dormitories. In short, the major factors causing student disturbance in schools away from home were not seriously present in the village high schools.

Achievement Gains in Basic Skills

Students in village ninth and tenth grade programs made respectable progress in basic skills. Normal progress, as measured by the State-Operated Schools' achievement tests (for academic progress), requires a gain of one to two points during the 5-month testing period. The 57 ninth graders tested gained 1.72 points and the 17 tenth graders gained 1.94 points on the composite test.

Breadth of Academic Program

The village high schools differed widely in the school programs they offered. Since little planning had occurred, the program depended primarily on the imagination of the individual teacher. In one village program we observed, the curriculum was quite poor. The teacher had attempted to set up an open classroom in which students worked on activities independently. However, he provided too little guidance, and students did not know what to do.

The Selawik village high school program, in contrast, provides an excellent illustration of how a broad curriculum can be offered in a village school. Selawik high school students set up and operated the Northern Lights Restaurant, the first business of its kind in the village. The students obtained a business loan from the school board. They rented the building and remodeled it. They used the profits to pay back the loan with interest, pay expenses, and build up the business. One student earned bookkeeping credit for keeping the restaurant books. The students learned about ordering supplies, prices, profit and loss, depreciation, and advertising.

Through establishing a village business Selawik students not only learned important new skills but also performed responsible roles which won approval from both village and western adults.

The Savoonga village high school program illustrates another way of expanding the curriculum and satisfying village students' desires to see the outside world while the students are based in a village high school. The program included a 2-week stay in Anchorage. Students lived the first week with an urban family and attended high school classes. For the second week, they lived on a university campus and attended classes with Native college students.

Teacher Morale and Evaluations of Village High Schools

The teachers at regional high schools were generally depressed and demoralized at the end of the school year, because they knew their programs had failed their students. In contrast, the village teachers, in their letters to us, often evidenced high morale. They were frequently proud of the programs they had developed and believed these programs had succeeded. One village teacher wrote:

> Togiak began its high school program on a small scale, employing two new secondary teachers and using existing facilities with some modifications. This allowed us to departmentalize through the seventh grades and to offer seventh through tenth graders a wide choice of subjects using a mini-course, trimester scheduling plan. In my opinion, the students were very happy with this arrangement and achieved as much or more here as they could have outside the village. There were few if any discipline problems, which I believe is a result of parental guidance and the secure feeling the boys and girls have when they are in their own village. Some students were skeptical about staying in the village since their brothers and sisters had gone away to school, but after local activities and events got started there was never any other discussion about it.

Another teacher wrote:

> We have concrete evidence that neither the boarding home program nor regional high schools are successful for Sand Point students, whereas our experience over the past 2 years strongly suggests that local education can succeed. Somehow we must communicate this experience to the State-Operated School Board, the State Department of Education, and the Legislature. The school and the community are deeply involved in curriculum development. We envision a curriculum that will keep students in school by

> virtue of its intrinsic interest and relevance, that will prepare the terminal graduates to compete successfully in the local labor market, that will provide continuing students with the background and experience to make the transition to the world outside Sand Point, and that will involve the local community both in the planning and the actual implementation of the program.

Would Four-Year Village High Schools Be Adequate?

A major question in considering 4-year village in high schools is whether or not a small village school could offer educational experiences which adequately prepared students for diverse adult demands. Many Native leaders and others are especially concerned about whether a village high school could prepare students adequately for college at a time when land claim developments are creating a great demand for highly educated Natives.

If poorly planned and inadequately funded, village high schools might indeed offer a very limited education except where unusual teachers organized imaginative programs. However, it is essential to keep in mind that, even if village high schools did offer a limited program, the education would probably not be very different from the actual education most village students now receive in large high schools away from home. Village students in urban high schools often end up in classes for slow learners or cannot follow the specialized courses in which they enroll. Village students in regional high schools often complain that they are not learning much because of the low academic standards.

If high school programs were well planned and if educational funds were used for educational experiences rather than construction of elaborate high school facilities, village high schools might well provide an education that would increase a rural students success in college or employment. For example, early high school years should emphasize travel experiences which increase rural students' awareness of the range of opportunities available to them. Later high school years should be organized around transitional experiences to prepare the student for going away to college or unemployment.

Incorporating transitional experiences into the junior and senior years of village high schools to prepare students for individual adult roles would have far greater educational benefits than the commonly discussed alternative of sending village students to urban or regional high schools during these same years. As late entrants into the school, village students would have difficult adjustment problems. They would also suffer social and emotional problems when exposed to the negative influences of towns with high levels of social problems and to inappropriate living situations.

Program Possibilities for Village High Schools

Of the 105 village ninth graders in our study, 78 percent read at the sixth grade level or below. Academically, these students needed a concentrated language arts program, and this is exactly what every regional and urban high school studied finally developed for village ninth graders.

The core curriculum of village high school programs should be built around basic school skills. For example, one teacher should have special background in dealing with reading problems. Indeed, a good basic model for such a village high school program already exists in the Rural Transition Center in Anchorage. Here, a group of instructors are team-teaching basic skills in an informal personalized classroom.

To provide a wider range of courses, a program needs to be developed where itinerant teaching specialists offer concentrated mini-courses in such specialized areas as science. These teachers might be based in a regional resources and media center located at a community college. Community residents should also be used to expand the curriculum by teaching important local skills.

Travel Programs to Increase Awareness of Opportunities

Village eighth graders often want to go away to high school because they are curious about the outside world. Curiosity is also a major reason village students frequently transfer from school to school. A village high school program should offer travel programs to increase students' awareness of opportunities. Excellent models of such travel programs are presently available. The Craig High School program, for example, offers student exchange opportunities with other states. In the Dillingham Foreign Study Program, village students travelled abroad and then enrolled in university courses. At college, the students lived as a group with guidance provided by counselors. This program appears to have succeeded in increasing village students' interest in new opportunities and also increasing their success in college.[2] Through these types of travel programs, village students can see what it is like outside the village without being placed in a position of continued inferiority, as presently occurs when village students attend classes with more academically prepared students in regional and urban high schools.

Such travel programs would have even greater value to students if the village high school students earned a part of the funds through community projects. A state "matching" grants program could be developed where students would write a proposal for a travel program, outline their own educational goals, and provide part of the funds. In a number of Indian secondary schools, working together for money to go on a trip has been a powerful way to create school spirit and strong peer group support for educational goals.

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[2] We are in the process of preparing an evaluation report on the Dillingham Foreign Study Program. Since appropriate comparison groups are not available, it is difficult to make good statistical comparisons, but many pieces of evidence suggest its success.

Senior Year Transitional Programs

Our follow-up studies of village high school graduates indicate that village students often experience serious difficulty in making a successful transition to college or to employment. All the supports of high school are suddenly taken away, and students are thrown on their own, often without the support of parental experience and guidance.

This problem could be alleviated if the senior year programs of village high schools were organized as transitional college or employment experiences. Students could enter college or employment while living together as a high school group with a counselor. Such a situation would give students guidance and emotional support in making a successful transition to adult roles. Village seniors interested in college, for example, could enroll in a precollege program on Alaska campuses. Transitional occupational training and employment programs could be organized for high school seniors interested in particular occupations. Senior students who wished to remain in the village could become integrated into adult roles at home through working, for example, in the village corporations set up under the Land Claims Act of 1971, with funds perhaps provided by Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Extracurricular Activities to Develop Confidence and Responsibility

Teachers of village high school programs emphasized the importance of adult-sponsored extracurricular activities, first of all, to provide an alternative to boredom and drinking. In addition, research[3] on small versus large high schools suggests that extracurricular activities in small high schools can have very important effects in developing self-confidence and a sense of social responsibility. Especially benefitting from small schools are marginal students (like village students) who are usually left out in large schools. Such activities in small high schools offer greater developmental benefits to students, in essence, because there are fewer students available to fill important roles. Thus, in small high schools, many students will have the opportunity to fill positions of responsibility and develop competence, confidence, and a sense of obligation to the group and its goals. In a large high school, only a few talented students will fill these roles and receive the important benefits. Such opportunities are especially important during adolescence, when students are trying to define their own abilities and their potential place in the world.

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[3] This research is summarized in *Big School-Small School: Studies of the Effects of High School Size Upon the Behavior and Experiences of Students.* R. B. Barker (Ed.) University of Kansas, Midwest Psychological Field Station, 1962.

The greater benefits provided by extracurricular activities in smaller high schools are exemplified in a school play. The play may require a cast of 10 students. In a large high school of 1,000 students, only 1 percent of the students will receive a role in the play, develop their public speaking abilities, and have their self-esteem boosted through community applause. In a small high school of perhaps 20 students, 50 percent will play a part and receive such benefits. In the large high school, since there are so many students from which to select actors, only those with especially high dramatic abilities are likely to be chosen. In the small high school, however, those with little dramatic ability are likely to be chosen. While the quality of the play may be lower in the small high school, the benefits to students in terms of personal growth will be much greater.

Summary

Village high school programs are not only likely to reduce the high rate of drop-out and serious social and emotional problems suffered by village students in high schools away from home. If carefully planned and if funds are spent on educational programs as well as facilities, village high schools could offer a program more appropriate to the academic and developmental needs of most village students and better prepare students for college or employment. Village high school programs could include a core curriculum supplemented by itinerant teaching specialists, travel opportunities, a senior year transition to work or college, and extracurricular activities designed to give students the experience in important, responsible roles.

CHAPTER SIX
IDENTITY FORMATION IN ALTERNATIVE HIGH SCHOOLS

Planning secondary school programs for village adolescents requires an understanding of the fundamental development problem which must be solved in adolescence—the formation of a strong identity.

Identity is one of the most abused and yet still one of the most useful concepts in psychology. As Erikson points out:

> Identity is a term used in our day with faddish ease; at this point I can only indicate how very complicated the real article is. For ego identity is partially conscious and largely unconscious; it is a psychological process reflecting social processes; it meets its crisis in adolescence but has grown throughout childhood and continues to reemerge in the crises of later years. The overriding meaning of it all . . . is the creation of a sense of sameness, a unity of the personality now felt by the individual and recognized by others as having consistency in time.[1]

Identity formation is misunderstood in cross-cultural education. "Identity" is much too narrowly viewed as a sense of ethnic identity, a feeling of pride in being an Indian or an Eskimo. Educational programs attempt to develop "identity" through Native heritage programs intended to boost self-esteem.[2]

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[1] Erik Erikson, "Youth: Fidelity and Diversity," *Daedalus*, Vol. 91, (1962) 5-27.

While ethnic pride may be an important part of identity, it is only a small part of it. *Identity formation is fundamentally the development of a set of unified values and directions which organize a life and give it meaning.* Indeed, identity formation is much more akin to the old-fashioned concept of "character development" than it is to its present interpretation in Indian education as "ego-boosting."

For Indian and Eskimo children, the unsuccessful resolution of identity formation appears to be a central psychological problem that stunts their development and prevents their future growth into productive adults. Identity formation would be difficult for village adolescents even if they did go away to high school. Indeed, village teachers commonly note that their students "turn off" at about the seventh grade, the beginning of adolescence. Indentity formation is difficult in part because, traditionally, self-made identities were not necessary. In traditional cultures, central values and available roles were fairly clear. If a man, for example, one usually became a hunter and provider; if a woman, one usually cared for a family. Traditionally, adolescents did not have to choose between competing values and life styles in order to synthesize a unique personal identity.

The task of identity formation is doubly difficult for Indian and Eskimo adolescents because the range of values and life styles between which they must choose is so much broader than the range available to many other adolescents. The Indian or Eskimo adolescent must somehow create an identity made up of many types of values—traditional, western, religious—which sometimes conflict. He must create an identity that has meaning not only in terms of his village community but also in terms of western society, which has become an important reference group.

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[2] This approach is coming under increasing criticism for failing to produce competent, confident adults. See "Indian Schools: Is Ego Boosting Enough?", *New York Times*, July 15, 1973. The weakness of this approach is that increased self-esteem requires meaningful personal achievement, not only identification with accomplishment of past generations. As Erikson points out, "A weak ego does not gain substantial strength from being persistently bolstered. A strong ego...does not need, and in fact is immune to, any attempt at artificial inflation. Its tendency is toward the testing of what...feels real." Erik Erikson. "Identity and the Life Cycle," *Psychological Issues*, 1:10 (1959) p. 47.

Sending village children away to high school makes the already difficult task of identity formation much worse. Strong identity formation requires:[3]

- A *unification* of the values important in childhood with values that can provide direction for adult life.
- *Recognition* by (and *approval* from) the significant people in his life that he is growing up well.

These two conditions do not occur in high schools away from home.

When village adolescents go away to high school, value unification becomes very difficult. First, the child is detached from the set of values of the village and thus finds it hard to reconcile his childhood self with adult ways of living. As one college student put it:

> You nervously wait for the moment when you will see your relatives, but you don't really know what to say or what to do because it was ages ago that you last saw them. You know that you have changed and you act and feel differently now. You also have different outlooks on things you didn't think about before. So here you are, left alone in that marginal life of yours.

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[3] These conditions are based upon Erik Erikson's discussions in "Identity and the Life Cycle," *Psychological Issues*, 1:10, 1959.

Second, the village child away at high school is not even exposed to a unified set of western values; he often faces value confusion. Frequently the school staff contains young whites who adhere to the "new morality" and do not uphold the strict western values that the Native students have been taught in the village from teachers and religious leaders who represent western standards. For example, the open and irregular sexual behavior of some staff members often shocks and unnerves the students who see these people as hypocritical. A Native dormitory attendant expressed such feelings about some school staff members: "It is just not right, those people living together right in front of the children."

Also confusing to the students are the different, often conflicting, values of different staff members. These disagreements and value contradictions often create value cross-pressures on students which in turn add to their confusion. Such a condition was present in every school we studied. We always found a contingent of traditional staff who emphasized "getting ahead" and traditional morality. Also always present and creating contradictory pressures on students were staff who emphasized the new morality of a free life style and development of intense personal relationships. Non-Native students who have grown up within a strong value framework transmitted by their families can deal with value conflicts among school staff and indeed often find the opposing points of view intellectually exciting. For village students, however, the result can be disorientation.

During a single year in the Bethel Regional High School, for example, village students had to adjust to the radically different standards of a liberal and a conservative dormitory director. At the same time, a student "ombudsman" in the dormitory (sent in by a different agency) preached a radical life style. When asked about students, he asserted that "If he's not millitant, I don't know him."[4]

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[4] This was more talk than fact. The ombudsman helped many students in the dormitory who were not militants. The point is that his explicit values, which he was teaching students, were narrowly militant.

In the school, the village students went from teachers who warned them against the pleasures of drugs to the principal's office. There a poster of a bear rubbing its back against a post proclaimed: "If it feels good, do it." An observer who knows the principal realized the sign was merely a joke, but village students often do not understand such irony. All they perceive is a barrage of confusing, contradictory messages about how one is supposed to grow up.

The second condition of successful identity formation—recognition and approval from significant figures in one's life—is also rarely met in high schools away from home. Because of academic deficiencies, social and emotional problems, village students frequently receive disapproval from significant western adults. Further, because of the new styles of behavior they learn away from home, village students sometimes receive disapproval from significant people at home.

Village parents, in addition to their traditional values, often hold strong Christian values and may disapprove of their children's new behavior by both sets of standards. Parents are irritated that some returning students act like whites, disapprove of their parents for not maintaining white standards of cleanliness in the village, and refuse to do housework. Parents are especially distressed, however, by what many see as erosion of their children's moral character. According to northwest Alaska parents:

> So many learn to smoke and drink when away from home. Respect for other people is lost. Before going away to high school, many children attend church with their parents. When they return home, the parents are saddened because the children no longer want to attend church...the children cannot do without parental guidance. This reason alone causes many of our youngsters to walk down the wrong path in life.[5]

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[5] Summarized by Senator Blodgett, *Conference on Alaska Native Secondary Education*, Sitka, Alaska, (December 19-20, 1968). Transcript of proceedings.

Many village students told us that the community expects high school students to turn bad when they go away to school, and they agree that this occurs. As one said:

> Lots of kids who go to high school are good children at home, obey, and don't talk back to their parents. Then they come back and drink and smoke. They're not good to their parents. They think they're so big. I saw that happen with my parents.

A village student in our study group, while an extreme case, illustrates a common expectation that students turn bad at high school. She arrived at a teacher's home at 4 a.m. in the morning, drunk and crying hysterically. She said that she had left home a good Christian girl and had started to drink, smoke, and go with men. Now she couldn't return to the village again.

Village students who attended high schools away from home exhibited many signs of unsuccessful identity formation. Some Beltz graduates, for example, when asked about what they wanted to do with their lives, responded, "I just want to take it easy" or "live luxuriously." Some students at Beltz tried to form an identity by attaching themselves to another student. If, in such a situation, one of the students left, the other fell apart.[6] Also, some Anchorage students seemed to view themselves as split into a Native half and a White half without any way to reconcile the two. One village college student vividly expressed such a problem:

> "There is a White part of me and a Native part of me. The White part of me has no childhood and has no parents. But the Native part of me has no adult."[7]

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[6] Erikson discusses this form of identity confusion in *Identity and the Life Cycle*, op. cit. "Because of an early identity hunger, our patients are apt to attach themselves to one brother or sister in a way resembling the behavior of twins...rage and paralysis follow the sudden insight that there is enough identity only for one, and that the other seems to have made off with it." p. 93.

[7] I am indebted to Mr. Jim Cole, University of Alaska counselor, for this observation.

How School Programs Can Facilitate Successful Identity Formation

Our study of different types of high schools, as well as the body of educational theory and research, suggests that schools, if structured in certain ways, help students to acquire a unified set of values and directions.[8] In creating such a school the following three conditions appear to be crucial:

- School staff must present clear values and directions that harmonize with the standards students have learned earlier from their families in the village.
- School staff must create a warm, personalized school climate where extensive relationships occur between teachers and students.
- School staff must gain support of the adolescent peer reference group for the values and directions presented by the school.

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[8] Much of the research on the impact of schools on value formation has been done at the college level. Not all types of colleges have been found to influence value development but rather colleges structured as small, homogeneous communities with clear values and few value cross-pressures. See especially C. E. Bidwell and R. S. Vreeland, "College Education and Moral Orientations: An Organizational Approach," *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 38 (1969) 233-250; R. S. Vreeland and C. E. Bidwell, "Classifying University Departments: An Approach to the Analysis of Their Effects Upon Undergraduates's Values and Attitudes," *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 39 (1966) 237-254. T. Newcomb, *Personality and Social Change*, New York: Dryden Press, 1943. The literature of identification and internalization of values is also pertinent. See especially J. Aronfreed, "The Concept of Internalization," in D. A. Goslin (Ed.) *Handbook of Socialization*, Chicago: Rand McNalley, 1969.

Presenting Clear Values and Directions in Harmony with Those of the Village

Most village students in high schools away from home are exposed to confused, contradictory values. Much of this value disorientation results from the out-of-school curriculum, especially the attitudes students learn in those towns which have high levels of social problems. For example, village students often form significant emotional relationships with confused and rootless young men of the town. These disoriented people can become central influences in the students lives. Village students also began to adopt the attitudes prevalent among some people in these towns, that the high rates of homicide and suicide in the town were just the way things naturally were. Thus, when the dormitory director committed suicide in Bethel, for example, the students were not particularly shocked. They had come to see such events as the natural course of things. One Bethel resident expressed the value dislocation that village students experienced in the town:

> Everyone is on his own in Bethel. There is no sense of community. There's no public opinion or pressure against anything. The main problem is that kids come in out of the village where life is structured and there is some kind of order and then come to Bethel where anything goes. The main problem is that they don't know what's right from wrong. They can't learn it in Bethel.

Nor did the school program in the regional schools present strong, clear directions. Most schools in the years studied had adopted a "freedom in education" philosophy which teachers misunderstood to mean no structure or direction. The purpose of this approach was to develop self-discipline and responsibility. But this purpose was not explained to students who saw the program as chaos. Moreover, even had the purpose been explained, the program could not have succeeded, because self-discipline is not developed by doing nothing more than placing children in a free environment. Indeed, the educators most committed to developing a sense of responsibility through free schools have been forced to conclude that:

- There has been a "rapid collapse of naive assumptions about the typical student taking control of his or her own learning."
- The open education program has "benefitted white middle class students most and low income students in general and ethnic minorities least."[9]

One ghetto student responded to the teacher's request that he control his behavior by saying: "I don't know how."[10] The failures of the free school movement with minority group children has turned attention not to doing away with structure altogether, but rather to determining what types of structures are desirable in educational programs.

The high schools attended by village students attempted to assist students to form strong identities through incorporation of Native cultural heritage programs. But many students did not see relevance of courses dealing with survival on the tundra or basketweaving to their adult lives. Moreover, this educational direction was not supported by most people important in the students' lives. While one faction in Bethel supported such programs, for example, other factions and indeed some of the students' parents saw them as pointless. Native art and history courses have as much place and indeed more place in these schools than do western art and history courses. In a less factionalized situation, students would probably have enjoyed such courses. But to expect Native history and art courses alone to help village students solve their identity problems makes as much sense as expecting western art and history courses to help western adolescents solve *their* identity problems.

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[9] "The Discoveries of the Alternative School Movement," *The Public Interest*, Vol. 32, (1973) 120-123. See also J. Kozol, "Free Schools: A Time for Candor," *Saturday Review*. (March 4, 1972) 51-54. R. Barth, *Open Education and the American School*, New York, Athathon Press, 1972.

[10] Barth, Ibid.

Presenting clear educational values and directions in school which harmonize with those students learned in childhood is an extremely difficult task. But this task can best be solved when high school programs are located in the student's home village. In a village school, teachers have direct contact with the community and thus become aware of its values, economic orientations, and respected adult roles. Indeed, some of the village high school teachers pointed out that they were developing a high school curriculum based on local styles of living and the local economy. In a large school which draws students from different communities, it is difficult to develop such educational directions which reflect community orientations, because the school is detached from the community. Moreover, the school staff is also much more likely to be divided on educational goals since the staff is large and since abstract educational debates cannot be anchored in the concrete needs of any particular village.

A Personalized School Climate with Extensive, Intimate Teacher-Student Relationships

Values and directions are acquired primarily through significant, personal relationships. They are developed by identifying with and modeling one's self after the people important in one's life. In most high schools away from home, students' significant relationships were not with well-integrated adults who could provide guidance, but rather with peers who provided little help. Only in those cases where students were placed with unusually good boarding home families did the students develop important emotional relationships with adults who could then help them understand the world and develop directions for their lives. Such a role was also partially fulfilled by the Beltz teachers who lived for a short time in the dormitory and influenced students through informal contacts, such as talking to them late at night about goals and plans. Fine private boarding schools view such intimate relationships between teachers and students as the essence of the educational approach required for strong personal development.

A personalized climate, where students have extensive, intimate contact with teachers, is much more likely to occur in a small village high school. Of course, village high school teachers can relate to their students in a formal and impersonal style. However, they are less likely to do so. In a small village school, teachers may get to know students by teaching several subjects and through organizing extracurricular activities. Informal personal contact with students is also likely to occur through the teachers' participation in general activities in the community. In a large, bureacratic school, teachers' roles are limited and specialized. Most teachers at the regional schools and especially in Anchorage high schools pointed out that they rarely got to know students because they only saw them for one subject a day. In such schools, only exceptional teachers opposed the norms of the school and developed the personal relationships with students that increased learning.[11] Such a personal school climate was an important cause of the success of the Anchorage Rural Transition Center and CORE classes—school programs which closely resembled a village high school.

Peer Group Support for School Values and Goals

For adolescents, the peer group is tremendously important in setting standards of behavior. Adolescents use strong, cohesive peer groups to help them overcome dependency on their families and develop independent identities as young adults. Thus, adolescents typically turn from the family to the peer group for emotional support and guiding standards. At this stage of life, achieving security within the peer group by conforming to its norm is of supreme importance.

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[11] A series of experiments suggest that personal warmth significantly increases learning in a cross-cultural situation. See J. S. Kleinfeld, "Classroom Climate and Verbal Participation of Indian and Eskimo Students in Integrated Classrooms," *Journal of Educational Research*, 67:2 (1973) 51-52; J. S. Kleinfeld, "Effects of Nonverbally Communicated Personal Warmth on the Intelligence Test Performance of Indian and Eskimo Adolescents," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1973 (forthcoming); J. S. Kleinfeld, "Effects of Nonverbal Warmth on the Learning of Eskimo and White Students," *Journal of Social Psychology* 1973 (forthcoming).

In different high school environments, different peer group values developed. These values then became very powerful in setting either positive or negative standards for student behavior. In Bethel during the 1971-72 year, for example, peer group values favored lack of cooperation and school absenteeism. At Beltz during the 1972-73 year, wild drinking was the way to status in the peer group. Thus removing the particular individuals who were problem drinkers had little effect, because new students merely assumed the negative leadership roles established by peer group values.

In the Anchorage Boarding Home Program, in contrast, an educational situation was structured which encouraged a village peer group to support positive developmental goals. The "Aquarius 4H Club," a homogeneous group of boarding home program students, offered dances and other social activities valued by the group. Thus, the peer group developed standards opposing negative behavior that interferred with club activities. At dances, for example, the students themselves monitored drinking and vandalism. Since the peer group valued club leadership, when the particular students who first assumed club leadership roles left (through the Dillingham Foreign Study Program), new students assumed these roles. As one advisor said, "They took the cream of the crop, but there's always someone just as good that comes to do the job." In short, whether positive or negative behavior occurs in an adolescent group depends not merely on the personal qualities of the individuals but also on what roles are established as important by the peer group.

Adolescent peer groups, with their tremendous influence in setting standards of behavior for their members, could be crucial supports for positive behavior if directed in this way by the school. But only a few limited areas, such as basketball, do schools create and channel adolescent peer groups. Many teachers have observed that such teams can have powerful effects on members. Problem drinkers, as members of a team, will often give up alcohol, at least until the season ends and the team breaks up.

By creating and channeling strong peer groups, schools could mobilize adolescents' energies in support of school goals. What is required, first of all, is for the school staff to form a close peer group through activities important to the group. Second, the school staff should present positive directions and standards which are clearly related to the success of valued group activities. Youth groups, social activities, or community projects could be used in this way. Indeed, village high school teachers sometimes pointed out that such groups as the Boy Scouts or Teen Clubs were important in creating desirable behavior among village adolescents.

Developing cohesive peer groups in support of school goals is easier in small village schools because the peer group itself is small and homogeneous. In large schools, where students come from various ethnic or regional groups (among which there have often existed long-standing hostilities), creating unified peer groups can prove more difficult. As at Beltz, peer group hostilities in such large schools often sabotage school programs.

Summary

High schools away from home make it much more difficult for village students to solve the central developmental problem of adolescence—formation of a strong identity. Students are removed from the village and from the standards they have learned in childhood. They are placed in high school environments where they receive confused, often contradictory messages about how to grow up. Village students away at high school rarely gain approval from significant western adults because of their academic difficulties and social problems. When they return home, their frequent rejection of village ways and their moral disintegration, by village standards, often earns disapproval from the significant people at home. The result is a state of identity confusion in which students often cannot form directions for their lives.

School programs can assist village adolescents to develop a unified set of values by:

- Presenting clear standards and directions harmonious with those of the village.
- Creating a warm personal climate where significant relationships develop with teachers.
- Gaining peer group support for positive developmental directions.

This psychological climate can more easily develop in small village high schools, if they are organized as personal communities with unified values (see Figure 6-1). Large schools are almost inevitably organized as bureaucracies which create the impersonal, psychological climate with contradictory values that impedes strong identity formation among village adolescents (see Figure 6-2).

Figure 6-1

Small School Organized as a Community

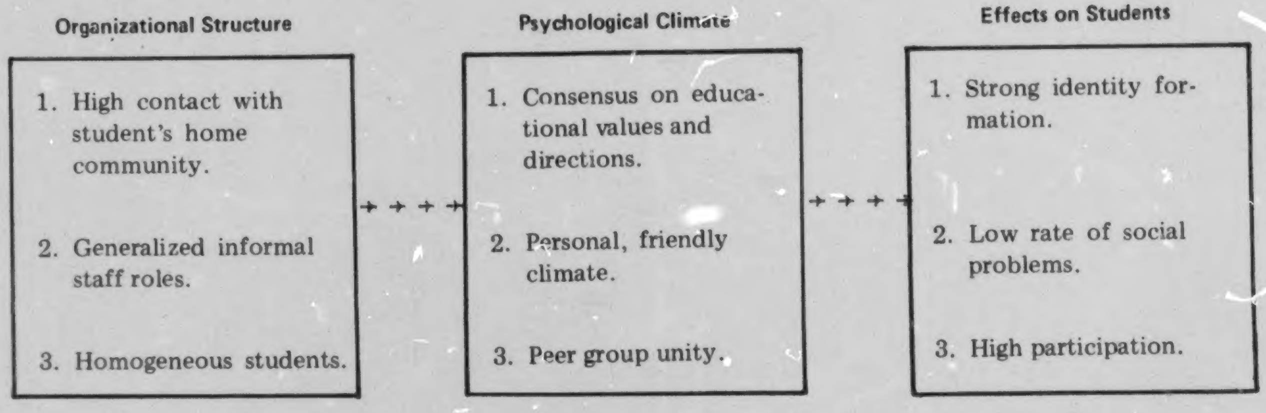
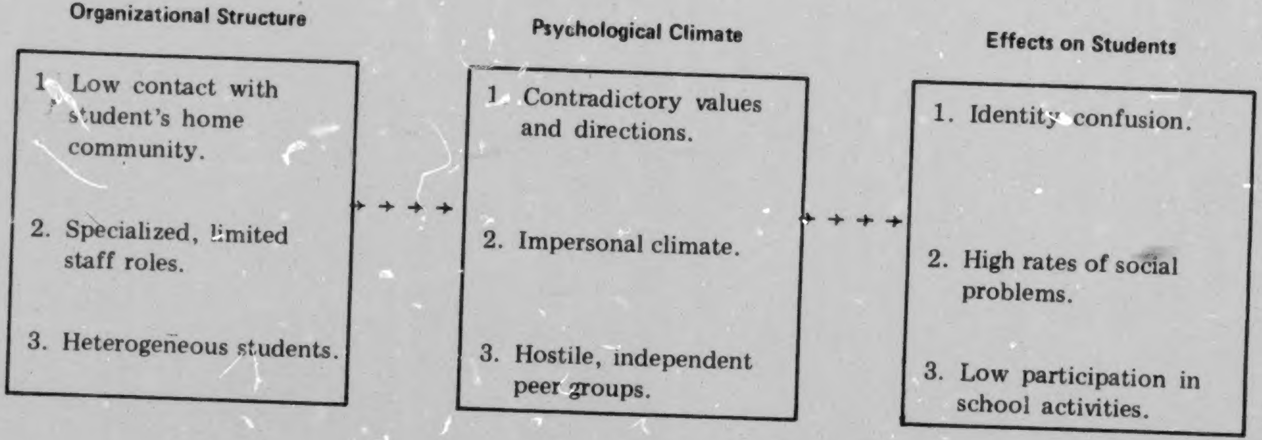

Organizational Structure
1. High contact with student's home community.
2. Generalized informal staff roles.
3. Homogeneous students.
Psychological Climate
1. Consensus on educational values and directions.
2. Personal, friendly climate.
3. Peer group unity.
Effects on Students
1. Strong identity formation.
2. Low rate of social problems.
3. High participation.

Figure 6-2

Large School Organized as a Bureaucracy



Organizational Structure

1. Low contact with student's home community.
2. Specialized, limited staff roles.
3. Heterogeneous students.

Psychological Climate

1. Contradictory values and directions.
2. Impersonal climate.
3. Hostile, independent peer groups.

Effects on Students

1. Identity confusion.
2. High rates of social problems.
3. Low participation in school activities.

CHAPTER SEVEN
DEVELOPMENT OF THE CURRENT RURAL SECONDARY SCHOOL SYSTEM

The present secondary school system for village adolescents is accomplishing results precisely opposite to those desired. Rather than promoting student development, the secondary schools are helping to create personality disintegration in many students. How did such a system develop in the first place and how can such errors be avoided in future policymaking?

The history of secondary school policy in Alaska illustrates pervasive problems in cross-cultural education. Decisions have been made primarily on the basis of economic and political, not educational, considerations. Research studies on educational problems generally reach the wrong conclusions because they are ordered from outside consulting firms that have little knowledge of Alaskan problems. In addition, a proliferation of independent, competing agencies within the system makes it impossible to develop coherent educational plans or to hold any source responsible for the failure of the system.

Availability as the Basis of the Secondary School Program

The first types of secondary school programs were established for village students on the basis of mere availability.

From 1947 until 1965 the only public high school available to Native students from small villages was Mt. Edgecumbe, a boarding school run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Despite great overcrowding, Mt. Edgecumbe was not large enough to handle all the rural students who wished to attend high school. Most students remained at home in the village.

The large numbers of rural students being denied a secondary school education led to the development of emergency measures. The Bureau of Indian Affairs opened two boarding schools in other states to Alaska Native students—Chemawa in Oregon and Chilocco in Oklahoma. In 1966, the Boarding Home Program was established. Originally viewed as an emergency measure to provide village students with a way to receive some high school education, enrollment in the Boarding Home Program mushroomed. The lower cost of this program and the lower rates of conspicuous social disturbance (compared to boarding school programs) led state policymakers to view it as a permanent part of the secondary education system.

Large Regional High School Concept

The only systematic attempt to develop secondary school policies based on rural students' educational needs was a research study that the state of Alaska ordered from the Training Corporation of America (TCA Report). This organization, located in Falls Church, Virginia, had little knowledge of Alaska problems. Its findings and recommendations were based on research and policy issues relevant to black students in the urban ghetto. When applied to Native students in rural Alaska, these findings led to the policy recommendations which were exactly the opposite of those required. The TCA report[1] argued that:

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[1] *Secondary Education for Rural Alaska*, Interim Report. Training Corporation of America, Falls Church, Virginia, 1966; *State of Alaska Regional Secondary School System Implementation Plan*, Final Report. Training Corporation of America, Falls Church, Virginia, 1967.

- A good, comprehensive academic program is possible only in large schools of at least 500 students and at least 25 teachers.

- Integration of village Indian and Eskimo students with white students will increase village students' achievement.

- The out-of-school learning opportunities available to village students in large high schools will give them the option of choosing urban life and will thus hasten the disintegration of economically defunct rural villages.

Based on these assumptions, the TCA report recommended:

- Establishing six large regional boarding schools with dormitory complexes in Anchorage, Fairbanks, Nome, Bethel, Kodiak, and Sitka.

- Developing a research center at the University of Alaska to deal with students' social and emotional problems which could result from an abrupt cultural transition.

To understand the basis of these conclusions, one must be familiar with the particular educational research and policy issues of black education in the late 1960's. In 1966, when the TCA Report was written, the most discussed finding in education was that the achievement of black students was higher in integrated schools.[2] The educational policies in vogue were large "magnet schools" or "educational parks." These large schools would be extravaganzas of educational technology and would thus persuade white parents to integrate their children with blacks in a comprehensive high school.

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[2] J. S. Coleman, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

The achievement of Indian and Eskimo children in integrated schools, however, has been found to be no different than their achievement in all Native schools.[3] In addition, the impersonality of large schools in the urban ghettos is widely considered to be a central cause of the high degree of student alienation, absenteeism, and social disruption. The large magnet school concept has now been replaced in educational thinking by the concept of small mini-schools. Such "street-academies" which stress small groups, informal relationships with teachers, and the use of the community as a learning resource have appeared successful in creating positive attitudes toward education among formerly alienated students. Some of these schools have encouraged a number of dropouts to attend college.[4] However, Alaska secondary school policy in the 1960's was based on the concept of large high schools in regional towns. This policy was the result of three factors:

- The regional high school approach advocated by the TCA Report.
- The desires of parents to have their children closer to home.
- The desires of regional towns to obtain the economic benefits of a large high school.

Beltz Boarding School opened outside of Nome in 1966. The Kodiak Aleutian Regional School opened in 1967, and the Bethel Regional School opened in 1973.

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[3] Bass, op. cit.

[4] A good review of the various types of mini-schools may be found in: Nelson, William C., "The Storefront School: A Vehicle for Change," in R. Rist, *Restructuring American Education*, New Brunswick, Transaction Books, 1972; Divoky, Diane, "New York's Mini-Schools," *Saturday Review*, December 19, 1971. Schools of this type have been created both in Anchorage and in Fairbanks, and informal reports suggest they have had positive results.

At the same time, most of the old high school programs were continued, and new ones were added. The Boarding Home Program continued to enroll large numbers of rural students. Out-of-state BIA boarding schools were phased out, but Mt. Edgecumbe remained open. In addition, a new boarding school program opened at Wildwood in 1973. This program fit into no existing secondary school plan but was established in answer to economic pressures from certain interest groups.

Administrative Chaos

This manner of determining secondary school policy resulted not only in bad policy but also in administrative chaos that prevented the correction of policy. No single source was responsible for what happened to rural children. In 1972-73, for example, 21 separate agencies were involved in some aspect of rural secondary education. One state division (Division of Regional Schools and Boarding Home Program) was responsible for the residential program, and another state division (Division of State-Operated Schools) was responsible for the academic program. Also involved in academic programs for village students were 17 independent school districts. The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Kenai Native Association were also responsible for rural secondary education programs.

Such administrative divisions made it impossible to establish coherent policies. Rural students easily transferred each year from program to program in a nomadic pattern that has been found to contribute to psychological disorder.[5] Despite the massive rate of mental health problems among village students in these programs, the state in 1973 only budgeted $5,000 for mental health services. Further, hostilities between dorm staff and school staff prevented the development of any unified educational goals.

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[5] T. P. Krush, J. W. Bjork, M.S.W., P.S. Sindell, and J. Nelle, "Some Thoughts on the Formation of Personality Disorder: Study of an Indian Boarding School Population," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 122:8 (February 1966) 868-875.

Present Policy Directions

The severe social problems of students in high schools away from home together with parents' desires to keep their children at home led to abandonment of the regional high school concept. Plans for large new dormitories in Fairbanks and Sitka were dropped, although a dormitory in process, Bethel, was still built as planned. State-Operated Schools established ninth and tenth grade programs in some of the villages, and a few new high schools are being built in the larger villages.

The future direction of rural secondary education is uncertain. In 1972, Alaska Legal Services Corporation brought a law suit, a class action on behalf of village students from villages without high schools, to compel the state to establish village high school programs. However, village high schools are not supported by many village students who feel that they will be denied opportunities enjoyed by their older brothers and sisters. Also, some Native leaders and village teachers are highly skeptical of the educational potential of the village school concept at a time when highly trained Natives are badly needed. As one village teacher wrote to us:

> Everyone here has read the proposal (for a village 9th and 10th grade program) and is struck by the claim that in the first year it will only cost 50 percent of a boarding program for the same children and that in the future, costs will drop because of no more need for major investment. We can't help wondering what the state has in mind, saving money or developing a more effective educational program for the village kids.

The state Board of Education has continued to feel that it is not in the best interest of village children to place a 4-year high school in every village. Creation of small area high schools of 60 to 120 students is one possibility being considered. Another possibility under consideration is establishing ninth and tenth grade programs in the villages and sending students away to regional high schools for their junior and senior years. Some educators, however, still question whether boarding schools or the boarding home program should remain open at all.

In 1973-74, control over some boarding home and dormitory programs was transferred to local Native organizations. It is much too early at this time to determine what effects such Native organizations will have in improving secondary school programs. Problems in these schools, for example, occur in cycles, with some years being much worse than others due to particular staff members, students, or policies. Early reports from Bethel suggest that new policies have had substantial positive effects in, for example, reducing social problems in the dormitory. However, other Native organizations, such as those in charge of boarding home programs, have not been able to markedly reduce many of village students' problems because these problems are caused by large urban high schools over which the organizations have little control. While this transfer of control to Native groups may in some cases improve the situation, there is a real danger that this transfer could also silence needed criticism against major, more subtle problems that still remain in these secondary school programs. Reducing problems in dormitories, for example, is important, but village students may still not receive the education they need to succeed as adults because of detachment from their families and lack of sufficient personal guidance. Pointing out these problems in secondary programs (which did not originate under new policies of the Native organizations but under those established by the state of Alaska and the Bureau of Indian Affairs), could nonetheless be misinterpreted as attacks on Native organizations.

Summary

Secondary school policy in Alaska has been based largely on mere availability of physical plants irrelevant research, and political and economic interests. This situation has not only led to wrong policies, it has also led to organizational chaos which prevents correction of these policies. With 21 separate agencies responsible for rural secondary education, no one is effectively responsible.

Controversy rages over the direction of future secondary school policy, and many questions remain to be answered:

- Should dormitory programs or boarding home programs be maintained?
- Should high school programs be established in every village?
- Should area high schools be built?
- Should students remain at home for the ninth and tenth grade and enter boarding home or dormitory programs in their junior or senior years?

Or does some combination of the above alternatives represent the educational policy that will provide the greatest educational benefits to village children?

CHAPTER EIGHT
RECOMMENDATIONS POLICY FOR RURAL SECONDARY EDUCATION

Boarding Home and Dormitory Programs Should Be Closed Down in Towns with High Levels of Social Problems

When village students are placed in such towns as Bethel or Nome, many are sucked into the town's social problems. Students may be pressured to drink by older peers in the town or by friends and relatives who come to town for amusement. Some students become involved with drugs or commit criminal offenses; others become victims of sexual assaults. Also, when placed in inadequate boarding homes, village students can become involved in the drinking and violence that occurs in some families. In dormitories, village students often suffer when intoxicated students return from town. While the problems of village students in dormitories are more conspicuous, students in many boarding homes develop equally serious social and emotional problems.

The most serious problems arising from a regional high school program, in short, have little to do with the school itself. The problem is the pervasive influence on students of the out-of-school curriculum—the influences of the town.

Certainly, better secondary school policies for programs in these towns could reduce many of the village students' conspicuous problems. For example, the 1973-74 policy in Bethel of placing only freshmen and sophomores in the dormitories, who have less access to liquor than older students, has been reported to alleviate drinking problems. Similarly, if village high schools were available and only a few students with special educational needs were placed in boarding homes in these towns, the weaker, inadequate boarding homes could be eliminated.

While such policies would reduce students' problems, these town influences are too pervasive to entirely eliminate them. Moreover, equally as serious are more subtle issues, such as the negative attitudes which village students learn in these towns. Village students absorb the attitudes of many town residents, that heavy drinking, violence, and suicide are just the way things are. Nor do village students receive the guidance that enables them to develop a set of unified standards and strong identities.

Dormitory and boarding home programs in such towns have extraordinarily high costs and offer few educational benefits. Typically, school absenteeism is high and academic standards are low. Yet, these are the most expensive high school programs (see Table 8-1). The rural boarding home program costs an average of $4,200 per student per year. Dormitory programs cost $5,600 per student per year, and actual costs per student often end up much higher because of the high student dropout while the dormitory's fixed operating costs remain the same.

Secondary school policy in Alaska should follow village parents' desires and not place their high-school-age children in towns with levels of social problems. Despite economic and political pressures to the contrary, these programs should be closed. Above all, new high schools for village children (now considered 'area'' rather than ''regional'' schools), should not be built in towns with high levels of social problems.

Table 8-1. Estimated Instruction and Domicile Costs of High School Alternatives for Village Students

	Urban Boarding Home	Rural Boarding Home	Regional High School	Area High School	Village High School
YEARLY COST PER STUDENT	$	$	$	$	$
Instruction	1,596	2,200	2,000	2,200	2,000
Domicile	1,550	2,000	3,600	1,100*	
TOTAL	$3,146	$4,200	$5,600	$3,300	$2,000

*Domicile costs for those students living away from home only. This estimate assumes a $2.200 domicile cost per student. Since domicile costs are averaged over *all* village students in area high schools, and only half of these students actually use state-furnished domiciles, the average cost per student is half of $2,200 or $1,100.

This information was supplied by the Division of Regional Schools and Boarding Home Program, Alaska Department of Education, 1973. Cost estimates made by other agencies differ slightly, but the rank ordering of expense of different high schools remains the same.

Public Boarding Schools Should Be Closed

Public boarding schools also have extremely high costs and offer low educational benefits. The level of social disorder in the dormitories differs from year to year, depending on particular policies, students and staff members. However, years with high incidences of drinking, violence, suicide threats and attempts are common and have occurred in every large public dormitory in Alaska. Moreover, even when social disorder is low and achievement high (as occurred at Beltz during some years), village students in dormitories tended to develop self-defeating attitudes and styles of behavior which have handicapped them when they left the boarding school environment.

While public boarding schools are generally recognized to be failures, private boarding schools for village students are often highly successful. Such a parochial boarding school at St. Mary's, for example, produces graduates who tend to do well both in college and in the village. However, the policies which are partially responsible for the success of the private boarding schools cannot be instituted in public boarding schools.

First, these successful private boarding schools are selective in admissions and they expel students who demonstrate through minor offenses that they are not receptive to the developmental goals of the school. By selecting only students who are receptive to the school's purposes, the school creates powerful peer group support for its educational goals. In public boarding schools, however, such selectivity and expulsion policies for minor offenses are not politically feasible. Thus, the minority of disturbed students often sets the tone of the public boarding school, demoralizes the staff, and creates severe problems for the rest of the group.

Second, the success of private boarding schools is due to the intimate, extensive contact between teachers and students. A great deal of important adult guidance and informal education occurs through such teacher-student relationships. At St. Mary's, for example, teachers (unpaid volunteers and religious staff) live in the dormitories, organize school activities, and are continually with students in the evenings and on weekends. Such a workload, however, cannot be required of public school teachers. Hiring additional staff for the dormitory would help, but it would also substantially raise the already high costs of public boarding schools. In addition, large numbers of dormitory and school staff with separate roles is unlikely to result in the unity of developmental goals, which is also important to the success of private schools.

In short, we cannot change the public boarding school environment to be educationally beneficial for village students without making extensive changes, and such changes are neither politically nor economically feasible.

The Urban Boarding Home Program Should Remain Open for Academically Inclined Village Students

For most village students, the urban boarding home program is a failure. Since so many students must be placed, the program is forced to use inadequate boarding home parents who do not have the ability to provide needed emotional support and guidance. Students in boarding homes often suffer severe homesickness and become involved in serious social problems in the city. Most village students receive little educational benefit from the wide range of courses available at urban schools because they do not have the academic background to take advantage of them. Frequently, they end up in courses for slow learners.

The urban boarding home program does, however, provide crucial educational opportunities for a small group of academically inclined village students, especially when they are placed in outstanding boarding homes. These students have the academic skills to do well in specialized courses and their success as well as the personal qualities which contribute to this success makes them less vulnerable to social and emotional problems. Those students in our study who had higher reading achievement levels when they entered the Anchorage program were much less likely to develop school-related social and emotional problems. In excellent boarding homes, village students receive other educational benefits through the informal education provided by parents. Urban boarding home program graduates tended to have sophisticated analytic skills, complicated views of the world, and tended to be more successful in college.

Opening the urban boarding home program to only academically inclined students would require a set of selection procedures. Such a method as the following might be used. Village teachers would explain to students the option of entering the urban boarding home program. A village student who wished to enter the program could petition the state Board of Education for the state to pay tuition and boarding costs. He would obtain parental consent and write an application outlining his educational needs and why he required an urban high school program. The state board would make their decision on the basis of the application as well as on the basis of achievement test scores and recommendations regarding the student's maturity.

The urban boarding home program is the least expensive high school program now in existence, costing only about $3,200 per year per student. About 10 percent of village students could probably benefit from this program if they desired this type of education. Thus, the state need pay for, at the most, only 250 students per year. Placing such a small group of village students would allow selection of only excellent boarding homes.

It is important not to neglect the needs of unusually academically talented village students in providing for the needs of the majority. From this group could come many highly educated Natives who would likely play key roles in meeting current social needs.

Area High Schools Would Offer Fewer Benefits than Village High Schools

The area high school plan presently being considered consists of a high school of 60 to 120 students located in a larger village. The area high school would draw students from neighboring villages, and most students could go home on weekends.

Area high schools, if (and only if) located in villages with low levels of social problems, would be a substantial improvement over present programs. However, such schools could have important disadvantages. The effect of a few demonstration area high schools should be carefully evaluated before secondary school policy is established in this direction.

First, placing large numbers of additional adolescents in a village of perhaps 200 to 600 people could overwhelm the village and create serious social problems. In addition, some of these adolescents will be problem students when they enter the program. Thus, a village which is viewed as a good site for an area high school because it has a low level of social problems might turn into a village with a high level of social problems, after the area high school is built there.

Second, the school would have to take the responsibility for providing a program that offered alternative activities to wild drinking. Such activities would require more staff and additional program expense. In addition to such expenses, operating costs for an area high school are higher than for village high schools, because large numbers of students have to be boarded. Developing the needed extracurricular program is likely to substantially raise costs.

Third, strong animosities sometimes exist between the neighboring villages whose children would attend an area high school. Village parents may resent a high school program being placed in a neighboring village so that it is their children who must leave home. Also, if hostility occurs between students from rival, neighboring villages, it might make very difficult the development of a unified peer group that supports the school activities. At Beltz, for example, the threat of outsiders welded the Savoonga and Gambell students into the cohesive "islanders." But, on the island, they are likely to become the Savoonga kids against the Gambell kids. The school staff could overcome such student divisions, but it would be a very difficult task. Such interpersonal animosities may seem trivial from the viewpoint of a distant educational planner, but they can and do destroy educational programs. In certain areas, where neighboring villages have positive relationships, area high schools may work well; but they may not work well where negative relationships exist.

Such disadvantages would not occur in village high schools, but in an area school they might well outweigh the educational benefits of the few additional teachers and courses that could be provided for a larger student body. A village high school program which included travel and internship experiences would provide much greater educational benefits than a few extra courses in an area high school.

Village Junior High Schools Alone Will Not Solve Students' Social and Emotional Problems

A common proposal presently being considered calls for establishing junior high schools in the villages and sending only the older high school students away to present boarding home and dormitory programs. This proposal is based on the theory that village students suffer social and emotional problems in present high school programs primarily because they leave home too young; if they left home during their junior and senior high school years, they would adjust better.

Our study suggests that this theory is incorrect. Students who were 15 or 16 when they left home developed school-related social and emotional problems as frequently as students who left home at 13 or 14 (see Table 8-2). Students who were 17 or 18 developed

Table 8-2. School-Related Social and Emotional Problems Developed by Village Students Entering High School at Different Ages*

Age	No Disturbance		Mild		Moderately Severe/Severe		Total
	Students	Percent	Students	Percent	Students	Percent	
Anchorage Boarding Home Program							
17-18	–	–	1	50%	1	50%	2
15-16	4	29%	4	29	6	43	14
13-14	6	33	6	33	6	33	18
Total:	10	29	11	32	13	38	34
Nome-Beltz Regional School							
17-18	–	–	1	50	1	50	2
15-16	–	–	2	25	6	75	8
13-14	5	18	10	36	13	46	28
Total:	5	13%	13	34%	20	53%	38

*Rating based on most severe problem developed over freshmen and sophomore years.

Table 8-2. (continued)

Age	No Disturbance		Mild		Moderately Severe/Severe		Total
	Students	Percent	Students	Percent	Students	Percent	
Bethel Regional School							
17-18	1	20%	–	–	4	80%	5
15-16	1	14	2	29%	4	57	7
13-14	–	–	2	33	4	67	6
Total:	2	11	4	22	12	67	18
All Schools							
17-18	1	11	2	22	6	67	9
15-16	5	17	8	28	16	55	29
13-14	11	21	18	35	23	44	52
TOTALS:	17	19%	28	31%	45	50%	90

school-related problems a little more frequently (in part because over-age students often have more problems to begin with and are more susceptible to the negative influences of school and town environments).

The social and emotional problems village students suffer in present high school programs are not fundamentally caused by the students' immaturity. If this were the case, the problem could be alleviated simply by sending them away when they were older. The problems, however, result fundamentally from the destructive pressures of the school and town environments, and these do not change simply because the students are older when they enter these programs.

High School Programs Should Be Established in Each Village

For most students, village high school programs, if well-planned, would offer the greatest educational benefits with the lowest costs. Such schools would reduce the high rates of drop-out and school-related social and emotional problems in present programs away from home. Village high school programs can be developed which include educational experience far more appropriate to village students' academic and developmental needs. Most students require a core basic skills curriculum taught in a personal atmosphere. This curriculum should be supplemented by itinerant teaching specialists to provide a wider range of courses, community projects, travel experience, and senior year transitional program to college or employment. Most important, small village high schools could take advantage of the potential of small group situations and location in the home community to create the unified educational directions, personal adult guidance, and peer group values which better enable village students to solve the central developmental problem of adolescence—strong identity formation.

Village high schools have the lowest operating costs ($2,200 per student per year) of any high school alternative. The major obstacle to establishing a high school program in each village is the high cost of school construction. Village high schools presently being built are costing between one and two million dollars. However, these costs could be drastically reduced if for instance these high schools did not include expensive multi-purpose rooms. Village parents should be given the opportunity to decide whether they would prefer a less elaborate facility to no high school at all.

In addition, innovative uses of present village facilities for high schools should be explored. Double shifts, where high school students attend afternoon or evening classes in village elementary schools is one possibility. Indeed, teachers sometimes comment that village teenagers seem to have a late afternoon and evening attention cycle, which might make such a late school day an educational advantage. In addition, other village facilities could be used for high schools. Churches are being used for schools in some villages, for example. From an educational standpoint, the school building is one of the least important factors in providing high quality instruction. Indeed, many of the "store-front" high schools in other states use makeshift facilities not only for budgetary reasons but partly because they contribute to the informal, comfortable atmosphere the staff is trying to create.

It should also be kept in mind that the costs of village high school construction are much overestimated in current policy debates, because the figure used represents the total cost of constructing a high school in each village. This is a misleading way to look at the expense of high school construction because such construction is financed by selling bonds. As in buying a house, the total cost is spread over many years. Thus, the more relevant figure is the yearly cost to the state of debt retirement on the bonds, not the total cost of high school construction.

Unless village high schools are carefully planned, they will not provide the educational benefits possible. They will instead provide a limited academic program, except in villages where there happen to be outstanding teachers. The state should establish a village high school development program to obtain needed planning information, to develop school programs which take advantage of the educational potential of small village high schools, and to present parents with choices between available alternatives.

Summary

Village high school programs should be established for the majority of village students. Village high schools, however, need to be carefully planned so that they take advantage of the opportunities provided by their small size and their location within a community. Such programs could develop the unified educational directions and personalized school climate that would assist village students in solving the problem of identity formation.

The urban boarding home program should remain open to a small number of village students whose educational needs cannot be met in a village high school. The needs of especially academically talented students should not be sacrificed in meeting the needs of the majority. Through a combination of village high schools and the urban boarding home program, the state of Alaska can provide equal educational opportunity for village students.

APPENDIX I

METHODOLOGY: EVALUATING HIGH SCHOOLS

In attempting to evaluate the effects of alternative high schools on village children, we used many different sources of information, each of which has its own limitations.[1] By putting all these sources of information together, we hoped to arrive at the most accurate possible view.

Drop-Out and Transfer Statistics

The problem with most evaluations of high school programs for village students is that the major measure of program success used is the school's drop-out rate. Drop-out is one useful indicator of student satisfaction. Appendix III presents drop-out statistics of different types of high school programs for the years 1971-72 and 1972-73.

Using drop-out figures as the sole measure of the school's success, however, is misleading from an evaluation standpoint and can actually harm the students in the school.

When a study depends solely on drop-out to measure the success of a school (and therefore the performance of the staff), the staff feels pressured to reduce drop-out to produce the lowest possible drop-out figures. As a result, students who are suffering severe emotional problems from being separated from their families, for example, are not sent home but merely transferred to a different program. Thus, they do not become "drop-outs." The use of drop-out figures alone to evaluate schools ignores what happens to children while they are in school; such a method only reveals that their bodies are still there.

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[1] Ideally, in a researcher's utopia, we would have randomly assigned a statistically large enough group of village students to a particular type of school and carefully measured their progress not only while they were in high school but after graduation, to assess long-term effects of a high school education. Of course, this was not possible. We approximated such a research design by combining a study of entering freshmen over 2 years with a follow-up study of graduates from the school.

After examining the severity of the social and emotional problems that village adolescents often developed in these programs, we began to regard dropping out, in many cases, as the most desirable outcome, at least if the student managed to get out before severe emotional damage was done.

Using drop-out figures to evaluate the success of a high school program can also be misleading, because dropout does not always mean a student is dissatisfied with a school. Village adolescents, like adolescents everywhere, tend to follow the examples of their friends. Thus, if one student from a village decides to drop out, frequently many of his friends will follow him, even if they are not at all discontented with the school. Indeed, several of the dropouts we interviewed spoke of being "forced" by their friends to leave a program they liked.

Drop-out figures are also misleading, because they exclude transfers. Many students who are dissatisfied often transfer rather than drop out. Yet, transfer statistics are almost totally ignored.

A very distorted picture of students' satisfaction with a school program can emerge unless transfer and drop-out statistics are combined into a measure of "total withdrawal" from the school program. For example, in 1971-72, the drop-out rate of village students in boarding home programs in white majority cities were 11 percent. The drop-out rate of village students in boarding home programs in Native majority towns was 15 percent. Does this mean that village students were more satisfied in the big cities? Not at all. In the city programs, 11 percent transferred; in the rural Native towns, 4 percent transferred. Village students unhappy in big cities were being transferred to rural Native towns because the staff felt they might find it easier to adjust. But students unhappy in rural Native towns usually were sent home because there was nowhere else to go. Total student withdrawal from urban white and rural Native boarding home programs was almost the same. These statistics agree with our other findings. Both types of programs create serious problems; the problems are just different.

Effects of Three Representative High Schools on Village Students

The major method used in evaluating the effects of schools on village children was to follow the progress of the 1971-72 village students who entered three representative high school programs. We attempted to examine the effects of the different schools on students' social and emotional problems, and identity formation during their freshman and sophomore years.

High Schools Selected

We studied the following three high school programs because they appeared to us to offer the best available examples of particular high school alternatives with enough entering freshmen for a sample.

1. **Bethel Boarding Home Program 1971-72/Bethel Dormitory and Regional High School 1972-73**: We selected Bethel because in 1971-72 it was a boarding home program in a rural Native town close to students' homes. The Bethel Boarding Home Program represents a high school environment where students suffer a less abrupt cultural transition and less separation from their families than many other high school alternatives. Bethel, however, like other rapidly expanding regional towns, has a high level of social problems.

In 1972-73, a new dormitory and regional high school facility opened in Bethel. Most of the 1971-72 village students we were following moved to the dormitory. This contrast between the boarding home program and the dormitory with the same students in the same town was useful in examining the effects of each type of living situation.

2. Beltz Boarding School 1971-72/Nome-Beltz Regional High School 1972-73: We selected Beltz because in 1971-72 it was a boarding school enrolling only village students. Beltz is located a few miles outside of Nome, and students are fairly close to their homes.

In 1972-73, a school addition was built and the Beltz Boarding School was consolidated with the Nome High School. Thus, Beltz was no longer a small boarding school but rather a large comprehensive high school enrolling white and Eskimo town students as well as the village students living in the dormitory. Again, observing what happened to the same group of village students when the school environment changed was useful in examining the effects of different types of school situations.

3. Anchorage Boarding Home Program: We selected Anchorage because it was a boarding home program in a large, white majority city. Village students usually live with white families and attend large high schools enrolling primarily white students. This program represents a highly western environment where there is an abrupt cultural transition and breaking of family ties. However, the school offers the largest variety of courses and other educational resources. Experience in the city and in the boarding home family can also provide important educational opportunities.

Sample of Village Students

In each high school, we included in the study all freshman Eskimo students who had not previously been away to school. We selected only Eskimo students because they are the largest group (usually about 65 percent) of students who leave home to attend high school. We feared that including Indian and Aleut students as well would introduce additional problems of cultural differences between students. As the study progressed, it became clear that the schools were having basically similar effects on the students from each cultural group. Nonetheless, caution should be used in applying the results of the study to Aleuts and Indians.

The students sample consisted of:

- The entire freshman class of village Eskimo students in 1971-72 at Bethel High School (23 students: 12 male and 11 female).
- The entire freshman class of village Eskimo students in 1971-72 at Beltz High School (42 students: 17 male and 25 female).
- A randomly selected sample (due to the large size of the entering class) of freshmen village Eskimo students in 1971-72 in the Anchorage Boarding Home Program (40 students: 21 male and 19 female).

Measures of School-Related Social and Emotional Problems

In education as in medicine, a basic principle must be, "First, do no harm." Thus, the first criterion for evaluating a school is to determine if the school experience itself actually causes social and emotional problems in village students.

Adolescence is generally a time of psychological stress, and not all social and emotional problems suffered by village adolescents result from their school experience. For this reason, we first evaluated the severity of a student's social and emotional problems and then we evaluated the extent to which the problems appeared to result from the student's experience of going away to high school to a particular educational environment.[2]

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[2] The development of social and emotional problems is of course, not the result of any one single factor. When such problems are related to the school experience, they result from the combination of the stress of the school environment with the student's personal characteristics.

A psychiatrist who is highly experienced in cross-cultural mental health problems, rated the student's symptom patterns as: (1) severe, (2) moderately severe, (3) mild, or (4) no disturbance.[3] After rating the severity of the problem the psychiatrist then determined the extent to which it was school-environment related. He judged the problem (1) "highly school-related" if it probably would not have occurred had the student not been in the school environment, (2) "somewhat school-related" if the school environment aggravated a problem the student would likely have had anyway, and (3) "not school-related" if the problem had little or nothing to do with the school environment.

The following types of information were used to evaluate the severity of students' social and emotional problems and their relationship to the school environment:

- **Background Information.** Background information on social and emotional problems of the student before he entered the school program was taken from the student's application packet. In each student's application was an evaluation from the village teacher concerning the student's family strength, special social and emotional problems, and whether or not the student was a social referral. While some teachers provided excellent information, others did not. In addition, each student was asked to write an autobiography, and this provided clues to prior problems; for example, obsessive concern with death. Other biographical information was used to indicate possible problems before entering the program such as the loss of a parent or other type of unusual family situation, a history of family migration from village to village, being overage, or bizzarre reasons for choice of school program.

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[3] We would like to thank Dr. John Wreggit of Langdon Psychiatric Clinic for assisting in this work through a reliability study of our ratings.

- **Symptom Rating Scale.** A common response to a stressful school environment is the development of such physical complaints as loss of appetite, insomnia, stomach aches, and headaches. Among boarding school students, psychiatrists generally recognize that such somatic symptoms serve as an outlet for the anxiety these children feel at being away from home.[4]

  For this reason, the Health Opinion Survey interview, dealing with these types of health problems, was given to students when they entered high school and again at the end of their freshman year (See attachment to this Appendix). The Health Opinion Survey has been found to be a useful mental health indicator in epidemiological studies, and some evidence has shown that it is valid in studying mental health of Eskimos.[5] Students' responses to the Health Opinion Survey generally agreed with those of the school nurse who was also asked about students' health problems.

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[4] Robert Leon, "Mental Health Considerations in the Indian Boarding School Program: In J. C. Cobb (Ed.) "Emotional Problems of Indian Students in Boarding Schools and Related Public Schools." Workshop Proceedings at the Albuquerque Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico (April 11-13, 1960). ERIC Files ED 047848.

[5] See J. M. Murphy and C. C. Hughes. The use of psychophysiological symptoms as indicators of disorder among Eskimos. In J. M. Murphy and A. H. Leighton (Eds.) *Approaches to Cross-Cultural Psychiatry*, New York, Cornell University Press, (1965) 108-160. We are in the process of further examining the validity of the Health Opinion Survey by comparing responses of Eskimo adults hospitalized for psychiatric problems with those functioning well in their communities. While this research is not complete, preliminary results suggest the validity of this measure for Eskimo adults. Of course, a measure that is valid for adults may not be valid for adolescents and this is an important qualification to the use of the Health Opinion Survey. The measure seems fairly reliable for Eskimo adolescents. On re-administration of the questions to 26 Eskimo adolescents after a month's time, 83 percent of the students gave the same response both times.

- **Social and Emotional Problems Observed by School Staff.** A major source of information about students' social and emotional problems came from interviews with school staff. In each program, the teacher with whom the student had had most contact (usually the language arts teacher) was asked both to anecdotally describe the students' problems and to rate common problems (depression, anxiety, homesickness, fearfulness, lack of classroom participation).

  In a boarding school, the dormitory administrator and counselor were asked for anecdotal reports and also about such problems as drinking, suicide threats or attempts, trouble with the law, and drug use. In a boarding home program, the program coordinator and the boarding home parents were asked for similar information. When appropriate, probation officers and psychiatrists were interviewed. The types of information used in making ratings of social and emotional problems may be found in the summary rating form attached to this Appendix.

  In many school programs, the staff did not know the students, and we were unable to obtain needed information. Thus, this study probably underestimates the severity of students' problems. However, if the background information did not signal prior social and emotional problems, this study probably overestimates the extent to which the problems are related to school experience.

Measures of Academic Progress

Since a major purpose of schools is academic growth, this was our second criterion in evaluating effects of schools on students. We examined:

- Achievement gains in reading and language use as measured by the junior high school level California Achievement (reading and language sub-tests).

- Types of courses taken and course grades.

Since dropout and absenteeism was so high, the number of students available for testing by the end of the sophomore year was small. This limitation should be kept in mind in evaluating academic progress.

Measures of Attitude Change

We also collected information through questionnaires on changes in attitudes (such as the belief that people are prejudiced against Natives) and in educational, occupational, and residential plans. All questionnaire and interview measures were evaluated by Native consultants and pre-tested with village students. We do not have a great deal of confidence in these measures because, in later interviews with students, we found that many were not reading the questions or were not interpreting them as intended. For this reason, we do not make much reference to the questionnaire results.

Measure of Student Withdrawal

In addition to collecting statistics on dropout and transfer, each student who left the program was sent a letter asking why he left the program and how well he liked what he was doing now. Of the 54 students who withdrew from the programs, 54 percent responded.

Measures of Later Success

To evaluate later effects of high schools on students, we followed up all village graduates from the three programs over the last 3 years (1970-1972). Aleut and Athabascan as well as Eskimo graduates were included.

Each graduate was mailed a questionnaire requesting his evaluation of his school experience and information about further education, employment, and participation in community and political activities. In addition, information was obtained from friends, school staff, and social service and vocational training personnel. An independent check of college records to determine college success of all graduates was also done. In addition, program graduates at the University of Alaska at Fairbanks and their counselors were interviewed regarding the students' adaptation to college.

Other Sources of Information

We surveyed drop-out and social and emotional problems of village students in the new village ninth and tenth grade programs through a questionnaire to village teachers. Village teachers, of course, may be unaware of some of the social and emotional problems of their students. However, we also relied to a large extent on information supplied by teachers in the other schools. Thus, evaluations in both situations have similar bias. Moreover, since a number of students in village programs had left other high schools, this group probably had a higher proportion of students with originally bad problems.

In addition, we visited many other secondary school programs and learned much about internal operations of these programs through serving as consultants for 3 years to the Division of Regional Schools and Boarding Home Program.

Conclusion

Determining "effects" of school is a difficult endeavor, and there are many risks of incorrect conclusions. While we have confidence in the findings of the report, this confidence is due more to the harmony of the data taken as a whole and to the harmony of the data with educational theory and research than to any single data source. No attempt is made to assert the validity of any single source of data used in this study. Rather it is all the information taken together that suggests the conclusions.

STUDENT MENTAL HEALTH EVALUATION – BEHAVIOR RATINGS

STUDENT NAME________________________ PROGRAM_____________

ANECDOTAL INFORMATION

Teacher (Confidence rating______)

Boarding Home Coordinator/Dorm counselor (Confidence rating______)

Boarding Home Parent (BHP students only). (Confidence rating______)

Student

Other

STUDENT MENTAL HEALTH EVALUATION – BEHAVIOR RATINGS

PROGRAM RETENTION

Dropped out of program?	1. YES	2. NO
Months in program before dropped:	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
Transfer to other program?	1. YES	2. NO
Months in program before transfer:	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
Expelled from program?	1. YES	2. NO
Months in program before expulsion?	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
Completed in program?	1. YES	2. NO
Returning next year?	1. YES	2. NO

SOCIO-LEGAL EVENTS

Drug use:

1. frequently
2. occasionally
3. sometimes
4. never

Suicide threat/attempt:

1. repeated attempt
2. attempt
3. repeated threat
4. threat

Trouble with the law:

1. YES
2. NO

Drinking:

1. heavily and frequently
2. heavily and occasionally
3. moderately and frequently
4. moderately and occasionally

STUDENT MENTAL HEALTH EVALUATION – BEHAVIOR RATINGS

Promiscuity:

1. frequently
2. occasionally
3. sometimes
4. never

Pregnancy:

1. YES
2. NO

HOME BEHAVIOR

Boarding home coordinator or dorm counselor confidence rating:

1. very well
2. fairly well
3. a little
4. slightly
5. not at all

Staying out late:

1. frequently
2. occasionally
3. seldom
4. never

Not coming home at night:

1. frequently
2. occasionally
3. seldom
4. never

Fighting:

1. frequently
2. occasionally
3. seldom
4. never

Refusing to do chores:

1. frequently
2. occasionally
3. seldom
4. never

STUDENT MENTAL HEALTH EVALUATION – BEHAVIOR RATINGS

Self-confidence:

1. high
2. fairly high
3. somewhat low
4. very low

Present mood (or mood at termination):

1. very cheerful
2. fairly cheerful
3. matter of fact
4. depressed

General adjustment to program:

1. very good
2. good
3. fair
4. not very good

Number of homes lived in (BHP students only):

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

SCHOOL RELATED BEHAVIOR

Teacher confidence rating:

1. very well
2. fairly well
3. a little
4. slightly
5. not at all

Depressed – low spirits:

1. frequently
2. occasionally
3. seldom
4. never

Homesick:

1. frequently
2. occasionally
3. seldom
4. never

STUDENT MENTAL HEALTH EVALUATION – BEHAVIOR RATINGS

Lethargic — withdrawn:

1. frequently
2. occasionally
3. seldom
4. never

Fearful — apprehensive:

1. frequently
2. occasionally
3. seldom
4. never

Nervous — agitated:

1. frequently
2. occasionally
3. seldom
4. never

Aggressive — hostile:

1. frequently
2. occasionally
3. seldom
4. never

Staying away from school/class when not ill:

1. frequently
2. occasionally
3. seldom
4. never

Participation in class discussions:

1. frequently
2. occasionally
3. seldom
4. never

Work seems too hard:

1. most of the time
2. sometimes
3. not very much
4. not at all

STUDENT MENTAL HEALTH EVALUATION – BEHAVIOR RATINGS

Works hard in class:

1. most of the time
2. sometimes
3. not very much
4. not at all

Self confidence:

1. high
2. fairly high
3. somewhat low
4. very low

Mood at present (or mood at termination):

1. very cheerful
2. fairly cheerful
3. matter of fact
4. depressed

General adjustment to the program:

1. very good
2. good
3. fair
4. not very good

Follow-up Health Opinion Survey

STUDENT NAME ______________________________ CODE __________

PROGRAM ____

HEALTH OPINION SURVEY

1. During this past school year how has your health been on the whole?
   1. good   2. medium   3. poor

2. During this past school year have you had any particular physical problems or health problems? How about accidents or injuries?
   1. no   2. yes

2a. If yes:	1	2	3
What illness or problem?			
When did it start?			
Does it still bother you?			
Was it all the time or on and off?	1-all the time 2-on and off	1-all the time 2-on and off	1-all the time 2-on and off
Were you home from school because of it?	1-yes 2-no	1-yes 2-no	1-yes 2-no
If yes, how long?			
Did you see the doctor or go to the hospital?	1-yes 2-no	1-yes 2-no	1-yes 2-no
How sick were you?	1-very 2-medium 3-little	1-very 2-medium 3-little	1-very 2-medium 3-little

Other notes:

3. During this past school year, have you at any time had to go easy on your school work or stay out of school for more than one week because of poor health?
   1. no 2. yes

4. During this past school year, did your hands ever tremble enough to bother you?
   1. often 2. sometimes 3. never

5. During this past school year, were you ever troubled by your hands or feet sweating so that they felt damp and clammy?
   1. often 2. sometimes 3. never

6. During this past school year, did you ever feel that you were going to have a nervous breakdown?
   1. often 2. sometimes 3. never

7. During this past school year have you ever been bothered by your heart beating hard?
   1. often 2. sometimes 3. never

8. During this past school year have you ever been bothered by dizziness and fainting?
   1. often 2. sometimes 3. never

9. During this past school year have you had a problem with feeling tired even when you wake up?
   1. often 2. sometimes 3. never

10. During this past school year have you had any trouble in getting to sleep and staying asleep?
    1. often 2. sometimes 3. never

11. During this past school year how often have you been bothered by having an upset stomach?
    1. nearly all the time 2. pretty often
    3. not very much 4. never

12. During this past school year have you ever been bothered by nightmares (dreams which frighten or upset you)?
    1. many times 2. a few times 3. never

13. During this past school year have you been bothered by your arms or legs going to sleep?
    1. often   2. sometimes   3. never

14. During this past school year have you ever been bothered by "cold sweats?"
    1. often   2. a few times   3. never

15. During this past school year have you felt that you are bothered by all kinds of ailments or feeling sick in different parts of your body?
    1. often   2. sometimes   3. never

16. Have you smoked during this past school year?
    1. a lot (more than 1 pack per day)
    2. some (less than 1 pack per day)
    3. not at all

17. During this past school year have you ever been troubled by sick headaches?
    1. often   2. sometimes   3. never

18. During this past school year have you had loss of appetite?
    1. often   2. sometimes   3. never

19. During this past school year have you ever had a bad taste in your mouth?
    1. often   2. sometimes   3. never

20. During the past school year has your food ever seemed tasteless and hard to swallow?
    1. often   2. sometimes   3. never

21. During this past school year have you felt it was necessary to take vitamin pills for your health?
    1. often   2. sometimes   3. never

22. During this past school year have you taken medicines not given by your doctor?
    1. often   2. sometimes   3. never

23. During this past school year have you felt that you were more apt to catch contagious diseases than most people?
    1. yes   2. undecided

24. How would you say your health was this past year?
1. excellent 2. good 3. fair
4. poor 5. very poor

25. Have you been happy during the past school year?
1. most of the time 2. sometimes 3. very few times

26. During the past school year have you ever used medicines for your nerves or pills to help you get to sleep?
1. often 2. sometimes 3. never

26a. If yes, do you know the name(s) of the pills?
(Valium Librium Thorzine Stelazine Tofranil
______ ______ ______ ______ ______)

27. During the past school year have you ever used drugs?
1. often 2. sometimes 3. never

27a. If yes, which ones?
(Marijuana Acid Speed Heroin ______)

28. Have there been times during the past school year when you felt low or hopeless?
1. often 2. sometimes 3. never

29. During the past school year have you ever had a creeping feeling in your skin?
1. often 2. sometimes 3. never

30. During the past school year have you ever been troubled by a feeling that your hair is standing on end and you have goose pimples?
1. often 2. sometimes 3. never

31. During the past school year have you ever felt frightened without knowing why?
1. often 2. sometimes 3. never

32. During this past school year have you ever had feelings of such great restlessness that you cannot sit long in a chair?
1. often 2. sometimes 3. never

33. During this past school year have you had any fainting spells or loss of consciousness?
    1. often 2. sometimes 3. never

APPENDIX II

SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS OF VILLAGE STUDENTS IN ALTERNATIVE HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Table II-1. Social and Emotional Problems of Freshmen in Three High School Programs 1971-72[a]

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program		Beltz Boarding School		Bethel Boarding Home Program		Total	
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	%
Severe/Moderately Severe Problems								
School Related	12	35%[b]	5	14%	8	38%	25	27%
Not School Related	1	3	3	8	5	24	9	10
Mild Problems								
School Related	9	26	7	19	4	19	20	22
Not School Related	3	9	12	33	2	10	17	19
No Disturbance	9	26	9	25	2	10	20	22
Total Students	34		36		21		91	

[a] Thirteen students were omitted because insufficient information existed to allow judging severity of their problems or relationship of problems to particular school program.

[b] Percentage subtotals were rounded to nearest whole number, so that totals may be somewhat erroneous.

Table II-2. Social and Emotional Problems of Sophomores[a] in Three High School Programs 1972-73[b]

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program		Nome-Beltz Regional School		Bethel Regional School		Total	
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	%
Severe/Moderately Severe Problems								
School Related	4	25%	16	52%	4	40%	24	42%[c]
Not School Related	0	0	0	0	1	10	1	2
Mild Problems								
School Related	2	13	9	29	2	20	13	23
Not School Related	4	25	2	6	0	0	6	11
No Disturbance	6	38	4	13	3	30%	13	23
Total Students	16		31		10		57	

[a] Entered program as freshmen.

[b] Eleven students were omitted because insufficient information existed to allow judging severity of their problems or relationship of problems to particular school program.

[c] Percentage subtotals were rounded to nearest whole number, so that totals may be somewhat erroneous.

Table II-3. **Success Rates of Three High School Programs with Freshmen Students 1971-72**[a]

	Success[b]		Failure		Total
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students
Anchorage Boarding Home Program	19	49%	20	51%	39
Beltz Boarding School	30	71	12	29	42
Bethel Boarding Home Program	5	23	17	77	22
Total	54 (52% of overall total)		49 (48% of overall total)		103

[a] In two cases, sample was reduced because of a family move or because of medical problems unrelated to school.

[b] Criteria of Success were that student:

Remained in program the freshman year.
Did not have severe or moderately severe school-related social and emotional problems.
Gained at least one-half expected amount in reading achievement.

Table II-4. Success Rates of Three High School Programs with Sophomores[a] 1972-73

	Success[b]		Failure		Total
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students
Anchorage Boarding Home Program	6	35%	11	65%	17
Nome-Beltz Regional School	13	35	24	65	37
Bethel Regional School	5	36	9	64	14
Total	24 (35% of overall total)		44 (65% of overall total)		68

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[a] Sophomores who entered program as freshmen.

[b] Criteria of Success were that student:

Remained in program sophomore year.
Did not have severe or moderately severe school-related social and emotional problems.
Gained at least one-half expected amount of reading achievement.

Table II-5. Success Rates of Three High School Programs for Students During Freshman and Sophomore Years 1971-73[a]

	Success[b]		Failure		Total
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students
Anchorage Boarding Home Program	9	23%	30	77%	39
Nome-Beltz Regional School	14	33	28	67	42
Bethel Regional School	1	4	22	96	23
Total	24 (23% of overall total)		80 (77% of overall total)		104

[a] In two cases, sample was reduced because of a family move or medical problems having nothing to do with school.

[b] Criteria of Success were that student:

Remained in program during freshman and sophomore year.
Did not have severe or moderately severe school-related social and emotional problems either year.
Gained at least one-half expected amount in reading achievement over 2 years.

Table II-6. Social and Emotional Problems of Anchorage Boarding Home Program Freshmen* 1971-72

	Severity				
To what extent school related?	Severe	Moderately Severe	Mild	No Disturbance	Total
Highly	6	4	1	0	11
Somewhat	1	1	8	0	10
Not	1	0	3	9	13
Total	8	5	12	9	34

*Five students omitted due to lack of information sufficient for ratings.

Table II-7. Social and Emotional Problems of Bethel Boarding Home Program Freshmen* 1971-72

	Severity				
To what extent school related?	Severe	Moderately Severe	Mild	No Disturbance	Total
Highly	3	2	0	0	5
Somewhat	3	0	4	0	7
Not	2	3	2	2	9
Total	8	5	6	2	21

*Two students were omitted because inadequate information existed to allow judging severity of their problems or relationship of problems to particular school program.

Table II-8. Social and Emotional Problems of Beltz Dormitory Freshmen* 1971-72

To what extent school related?	Severity				
	Severe	Moderately Severe	Mild	No Disturbance	Total
Highly	0	1	2	0	3
Somewhat	0	4	5	0	9
Not	0	3	12	9	24
Total	0	8	19	9	36

*Six students omitted because inadequate information existed to allow judging severity of their problems or relationship of problems to particular school program.

Table II-9. School-Related Social and Emotional Problems[a] Related to Reading Achievement Grade Level in Three High School Programs

Reading Achievement	No Disturbance		Mild		Moderately Severe/Severe		Total
	Students	Percent	Students	Percent	Students	Percent	Students
Anchorage Boarding Home Program							
7.0+	—	—	2	67%	1	33%	3
6.0-6.9	9	75	3	25	—	—	12
5.0-5.9	1	11	3	33	5	56	9
below-4.9	1	9	3	27	7	64	11
Total	11	31%	11	31%	13	37%	35
Nome-Beltz Regional School							
7.0+	1	8%	5	42%	6	50%	12
6.0-6.9	2	17	3	25	7	58	12
5.0-5.9	1	14	3	43	3	43	7
below-4.9	1	17	1	17	4	67[b]	6
Total	5	14%	12	32%	20	54%	37

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[a] Based on most severe problems over freshman and sophomore years.

[b] Percentage subtotals were rounded to nearest whole number, so that totals may be somewhat erroneous.

Table II-9. (continued)

Reading Achievement	No Disturbance		Mild		Moderately Severe/Severe		Total
	Students	Percent	Students	Percent	Students	Percent	Students
Bethel Regional School							
7.0+			2	67%	1	33%	3
6.0-6.9	1	14	2	29	4	57	7
5.0-5.9	1	20	–	–	4	80	5
below-4.9	–	–	–	–	2	100	2
Total	2	12%	4	24%	11	65%	17
All Schools							
7.0+	1	6%	9	50%	8	44%	18
6.0-6.9	12	39	8	26	11	35	31
5.0-5.9	3	14	6	29	12	57	21
below-4.9	2	11	4	21	13	68	19
Total	18	20%	27	30%	44	49%	89

Table II-10. Social and Emotional Problems of Sophomores[a] in Bethel Boarding Home Program and Dormitory 1971-72

To what extent school related?[b]	Severity				
	Severe	Moderately Severe	Mild	No Disturbance	Total
Highly	2	1	0	0	3
Somewhat	0	1	2	0	3
Not	0	1	0	3	4
Total	2	3	2	3	10

[a] Sophomores who entered programs as freshmen.

[b] Four students had problems, but inadequate information existed to allow judging severity of the problems or the relationship to school program.

Table II-11. Social and Emotional Problems of Anchorage Boarding Home Program Sophomores[a] 1971-72

To what extent school-related?[b]	Severity				
	Severe	Moderately Severe	Mild	No Disturbance	Total
Highly	0	1	0	0	1
Somewhat	0	3	2	0	5
Not	0	0	4	6	10
Total	0	4	6	6	16

[a] Sophomores who entered programs as freshmen.

[b] One student had problems, but not enough information existed to allow judging severity or the relationship of problems to school.

Table II-12. Social and Emotional Problems of Nome-Beltz Dormitory Sophomores[a] 1971-72

	Severity				
To what extent school related?[b]	Severe	Moderately Severe	Mild	No Disturbance	Total
Highly	1	10	5	0	16
Somewhat	1	4	4	0	9
Not	0	0	2	4	6
Total	2	14	11	4	31

[a] Sophomores who entered programs as freshmen.

[b] Six students had problems but not enough information existed to allow judging severity or the relationship to school.

APPENDIX III

DROP-OUT AND TRANSFER OF VILLAGE STUDENTS IN ALTERNATIVE HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Table III-1. Drop-Out and Transfer of Students in Three High School Programs

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program		Nome-Beltz Regional School		Bethel Regional School	
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample
Entering Freshmen 1971-72	40		42		23	
Dropped 1971-72	6	15%	3	7%	7	30%
Transferred 1971-72	5	13	0	0	2	9
Completed Year 1971-72	29	73	39	93	14	61
Dropped/Transferred over summer	12	36	2	5	2	9

Table III-1. (continued)

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program		Nome-Beltz Regional School		Bethel Regional School	
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample
Began Sophomore Year in Same Program (including re-enrollment of dropouts) 1972-73	17	43%	37	88%	14	61%
Dropped 1972-73	0	0	8	19	6	26
Transferred 1972-73	3	8	3	7	0	0
Completed 2 years in Same Program	14	35	26	62	8	35

Table III-2. Drop-Out and Transfer of Students in Boarding Home and Dormitory Programs 1971-1973

	Enrollment	Dropouts		Transfer		Total Withdrawal	
		Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample
BOARDING HOME PROGRAMS							
1971-72							
Urban White Majority Towns	707	78	11%	79	11%	157	22%
Rural White Majority Towns	295	24	8	34	12	58	20
Rural Native Majority Towns	286	43	15	12	4	55	19
1972-73							
Urban White Majority Towns	554	87	16	78	14	165	30
Rural White Majority Towns	236	36	15	30	13	66	28
Rural Native Majority Towns	320	48	15	27	8	75	23

Table III-2. (continued)

	Enrollment	Dropouts		Transfer		Total Withdrawal	
		Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample
DORMITORY PROGRAMS*							
1971-72							
Kodiak-Aleutian Dormitory	249	39	16%	40	16%	79	32%
Beltz Dormitory	187	5	3	18	10	23	12
1972-73							
Bethel Dormitory	205	87	42	27	13	114	56
Kodiak-Aleutian Dormitory	73	22	30	14	19	36	49
Beltz Dormitory	173	52	30	15	9	67	39

*Includes students who transferred to dormitory programs.

Table III-3. Dropout of Freshmen and Sophomores in Village Ninth and Tenth Grade Programs 1971-1972

	Enrollment* of Students from Village	Dropouts	
		Students	% of Sample
Savoonga	17	1	6%
Kivalina	13	3	23
Chignik Lagoon	3	0	0
Togiak	24	0	0
Noorvik	10	3	30
Nondalton (Freshmen only)	9	0	0
Nulato	25	1	4
Sand Point	30	1	3
Selawik	27	0	0
TOTALS	158	9	6%

*Includes students from village who entered village high school after dropping out of other program. Students whose families moved from village are not included in calculating enrollment or drop-out rate.

APPENDIX IV

CHANGE OF ACHIEVEMENT TEST SCORES OF VILLAGE STUDENTS IN ALTERNATIVE HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Table IV-1. **Reading Achievement Change of Freshmen Students 1971-1972 (California Achievement Test)**

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program (32 students)*	Beltz Boarding School (33 students)*	Bethel Boarding Home Program (14 students)*	Total Students = 79
Avg. Grade Level, Fall 1971:	5.55	6.36	6.41	6.04
Avg. Grade Level, Spring 1972:	6.68	7.22	6.55	6.88
Avg. Grade Level Change:	1.13	.86	.14	.84
Expected Gain Over Testing Period (7/9 of school year) = .78 of a grade level.				
Percentage achieving expected gain:	72%	58%	29%	58%
Percentage achieving any gain:	84%	88%	43%	78%

*Number of students available for testing.

Table IV-2. Reading Achievement Change of Sophomore Students 1972-1973 (California Achievement Test)

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program (14 students)*	Nome-Beltz Regional School (15 students)*	Bethel Regional School (7 students)*	Total Students = 36
Avg. Grade Level, Spring 1972:	7.05	7.24	6.41	7.00
Avg. Grade Level, Spring 1973:	7.64	7.94	6.99	7.64
Avg. Grade Level Change:	.59	.70	.58	.64
Expected Gain Over Testing Period (1 school year) = 1.00 grade level				
Percentage achieving expected gain:	36%	25%	29%	30%
Percentage achieving any gain:	79%	75%	57%	72%

*Number of students available for testing.

Table IV-3. Reading Achievement Change over both Freshman and Sophomore Years 1971-1973 (California Achievement Test)

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program (14 students)*	Nome-Beltz Regional School (18 students)*	Bethel Regional School (8 students)*	Total Students = 40
Avg. Grade Level, Fall 1971:	6.00	6.39	6.49	6.27
Avg. Grade Level, Spring 1973:	7.64	8.09	6.58	7.63
Avg. Grade Level Change:	1.64	1.70	.09	1.36
Expected Gain Over Testing Period (1-7/9 school years) = 1.78 grade level				
Percentage achieving expected gain:	43%	39%	0%	33%
Percentage achieving any gain:	100%	94%	75%	93%

*Number of students available for testing.

Table IV-4. **Language Achievement Change of Freshman Students 1971-1972 (California Achievement Test)**

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program (30 students)*	Beltz Boarding School (34 students)*	Bethel Boarding Home Program (10 students)*	Total Students = 74*
Avg. Grade Level, Fall 1971:	7.31	7.68	7.41	7.49
Avg. Grade Level, Spring 1972:	7.91	8.05	7.87	7.97
Avg. Grade Level Change:	.60	.37	.46	.48
Expected Gain Over Testing Period (7/9 school year) = .78 grade level				
Percentage achieving expected gain:	40%	38%	30%	38%
Percentage achieving any gain:	87%	71%	60%	76%

*Number of students available for testing.

Table IV-5. **Language Achievement Change of Sophomore Students 1972-1973 (California Achievement Test)**

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program (12 students)*	Nome-Beltz Regional School (14 students)*	Bethel Regional School (7 students)*	Total Students = 33
Avg. Grade Level, Spring 1972:	7.96	8.53	8.27	8.27
Avg. Grade Level, Spring 1973:	8.53	8.99	8.07	8.63
Avg. Grade Level Change:	.57	.46	–.20	.36
Expected Gain Over Testing Period (1 school year) = 1.00 grade level				
Percentage achieving expected gain:	17%	14%	0%	12%
Percentage achieving any gain:	75%	64%	43%	64%

*Number of students available for testing.

Table IV-6. Language Achievement Change over both Freshman and Sophomore Years 1971-1973 (California Achievement Test)

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program (11 students)*	Nome-Beltz Regional School (17 students)*	Bethel Regional School (7 students)*	Total Students = 35
Avg. Grade Level, Fall 1971:	7.70	8.03	7.57	7.83
Avg. Grade Level, Spring 1973:	8.74	9.08	8.07	8.77
Avg. Grade Level Change:	1.04	1.05	.50	.94
Expected Gain Over Testing Period (1-7/9 school years) = 1.78 grade level				
Percentage achieving expected gain:	18%	24%	0%	17%
Percentage achieving any gain:	91%	88%	71%	86%

*Number of students available for testing.

Table IV-7. Bethel Regional School Change of Freshman Students 1971-1972 (Test of Academic Progress)*

	Bethel Boarding Home Program		Bethel Town Students	
	Reading	Math	Reading	Math
Number of Students:	13	13	25	25
Avg. Grade Level, Fall 1971:	6.85	7.28	7.13	7.29
Avg. Grade Level, Spring 1972:	6.83	7.30	7.28	7.66
Avg. Grade Level Change:	.02	.02	.15	.37
Expected Gain Over Testing Period (4/9 school year) = .44 grade level				
Percentage achieving expected gain:	31%	23%	24%	48%
Percentage achieving any gain:	31%	31%	52%	54%

*These statistics were obtained through the annual testing program of the Alaska State-Operated School System.

Table IV-8. Achievement Test Change of Freshman and Sophomore Students in Village Ninth and Tenth Grade Programs 1972-1973 (Test of Academic Progress)[a]

	Number of Students	Reading		Composite	
		Total Change (points)[b]	Percentage achieving any gain	Total Change (points)[b]	Percentage achieving any gain
Nondalton Freshmen	8	1.88	50%	2.63	63%
Kivalina Freshmen	6	–.67	33	–.67	17
Noorvik Freshmen	5	–.20	20	1.20	60
Togiak Freshmen	13	1.38	31	.85	53
Sand Point					
Freshmen	13	1.46	54	2.85	92
Sophomores	5	1.60	40	2.60	80
Nulato					
Freshmen	12	1.08	58	2.25	75
Sophomore	12	1.33	75	1.67	75
Total Average					
Freshmen	57	1.05	46	1.72	70
Sophomore	17	1.41	65	1.94	76

[a] These statistics were obtained from the annual testing program of the Alaska State-Operated School System.

[b] A gain of one to two points is considered within the normal range for the 5-month testing period, D. K. Thomas, testing consultant, report to State-Operated Schools.

APPENDIX V

COURSES AND GRADE POINT AVERAGES OF VILLAGE STUDENTS IN ALTERNATIVE HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Table V-1. Courses Taken by Anchorage Boarding Home Program Freshmen 1971-1972 (33 students)*

Course	Students	Course	Students
English	33	Earth Science	5
Social Studies	33	General Business	3
Physical Education	33	Band	3
Mathematics	31	Chorus	2
Corrective Reading	25	Drafting	2
Typewriting	11	Sculpture	2
Shop	11	Basic Foods	2
Arts & Crafts	5	Aviation	1
Home Economics	5		

*Based on students whose schedules were available.

Table V-2. Courses Taken by Beltz Boarding School Freshmen 1971-1972 (39 students)*

Course	Students
English	39
Social Studies	39
Physical Education	39
Mathematics	39
Science	38
Home Economics	24
Metal-Wood Shop	15

*Based on students whose schedules were available.

Table V-3. Courses Taken by Bethel Boarding Home Program Freshmen 1971-1972 (15 students)*

Course	Students	Course	Students
English	15	Typewriting	3
Social Studies	15	Science	2
Physical Education	15	Chorus	2
Math	14	Home Economics	2
Shop	8	Current Events	1
Art	7	Power Mechanics	1
Reading	5		

*Based on students whose schedules were available.

Table V-4. Courses Taken by Sophomore Students in Three High School Programs

Course	Anchorage Boarding Home Program (14 students)*	Bethel Regional School (9 students)*	Nome-Beltz Regional School (27 students)*	Total Students = 50
English	8	5	22	35
Biology	7	5	16	28
Physical Education	2	2	24	28
Typing	7	4	12	23
Math	6	0	8	14
Art	1	2	11	14
Western Civilization	13	0	11	24
American Studies	0	4	5	9
Algebra	1	2	8	11
Chorus	3	5	1	9
Guitar	2	2	3	7
Home Economics	3	0	2	5
Science Survey	5	0	0	5
Reading	5	1	0	6
World Affairs	1	3	0	4
Alaska Studies	0	0	5	5

*Based on students whose schedules were available.

Table V-4. (continued)

Course	Anchorage Boarding Home Program (14 students)*	Bethel Regional School (9 students)*	Nome-Beltz Regional School (27 students)*	Total Students = 50
Earth Science	0	1	4	5
Geography	1	0	4	5
Woodwork	1	0	3	4
Speech	0	0	2	2
World History	0	0	3	3
Family & Child Care	0	0	3	3
Clothing	1	0	3	4
Work Study	2	0	0	2
Ecology	1	2	0	3
Fitness Lab	0	3	0	3
Drivers Education	0	0	2	2
Eskimo Songs & Dances	0	0	2	2
Lab Science	0	1	1	2
Foods	0	0	1	1
Drafting	2	0	0	2
Child Development	2	0	0	2

*Based on students whose schedules were available.

Table V-4. (continued)

Course	Anchorage Boarding Home Program (14 students)*	Bethel Regional School (9 students)*	Nome-Beltz Regional School (27 students)*	Total Students = 50
Geometry	0	2	0	2
Mass Media	0	2	0	2
Record Keeping	0	0	1	1
Metal Work	0	0	1	1
Power Mechanics	0	0	1	1
Auto Mechanics	0	0	1	1
Industrial Arts	0	0	1	1
Mechanical Drawing	0	0	1	1
Interior Design	0	0	1	1
Man in His World	0	0	1	1
Psychology	0	0	1	1
Teacher Aide	0	0	1	1
Journalism	0	0	1	1
Spanish	1	0	0	1
Electronics	1	0	0	1
Sculpture	1	0	0	1

*Based on students whose schedules were available.

Table V-4. (continued)

Course	Anchorage Boarding Home Program (14 students)*	Bethel Regional School (9 students)*	Nome-Beltz Regional School (27 students)*	Total Students = 50
American Short Stories	1	0	0	1
Shop	0	1	0	1
Library Science	0	1	0	1
Sociology	0	1	0	1
Business Law	0	1	0	1
Music Theory	0	1	0	1
Eskimo Folklore	0	1	0	1
Social Work Seminar	0	1	0	1
Native Land Claims	0	1	0	1
Local Government	0	1	0	1
Office Practice	0	1	0	1
Beadwork	0	1	0	1

*Based on students whose schedules were available.

Table V-5. Sophomore Grades of Anchorage Boarding Home Program Students in Specialized Courses (14 students)*

Course	
Biology:	F F, D D D, C C
Child Development:	D D
Electronics:	D
Drafting:	F
Spanish:	D
Ecology:	B
American Short Story:	D
Geography:	C
Average:	D

*Based on students whose schedules were available.

APPENDIX VI

ATTITUDES OF VILLAGE STUDENTS IN ALTERNATIVE HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Table VI-1. High School Preferences of Students at End of Freshmen Year

Response to Question: Where would you like best to go to high school?

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program		Beltz Boarding School		Bethel Boarding Home Program		Total	
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Total*
Same as now	16	50%	2	6%	9	60%	27	34%
My hometown if a high school were built there	11	34	20	61	4	27	35	44
A different school	5	16	11	33	2	13	23	23
Total	32		33		15		80	

*Because subtotals are rounded to nearest whole number, totals may be somewhat erroneous.

Table VI-2. **High School Preferences of Students at End of Sophomore Year**

Response to Question: Where would you like best to go to high school?

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program		Beltz Boarding School		Bethel Boarding Home Program		Total	
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	%
Same as now	7	50%	10	46%	0	0%	17	38%
My hometown if a high school were built there	5	36	6	27	7	78	18	40
A different school	2	14	6	27	2	22	10	22
Total	14		22		9*		45	

*Includes 1 student who later dropped out.

Table VI-3. **Occupational Plans of High School Students over Freshman and Sophomore Years**

	Don't Know		Hunt/Fish Housewife		Specific Nonprofessional Job		Professional Job		Total Students
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	
Anchorage Boarding Home Program									
Fall 1971	12	86%	0	0%	2	14%	0	0%	14
Spring 1972	2	14	1	7	9	64	2	14	14
Spring 1973	0	0	1	7	10	71	3	21	14
Nome-Beltz Regional School									
Fall 1971	15	68	0	0	7	32	0	0	22
Spring 1972	0	0	4	20	16	80	0	0	20
Spring 1973	8	38	1	5	12	57	0	0	21

Table VI-3. (continued)

	Don't Know		Hunt/Fish Housewife		Specific Nonprofessional Job		Professional Job		Total Students
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	
Bethel Regional School									
Fall 1971	6	67%	0	0%	3	33%	0	0%	9
Spring 1972	4	50	1	13	3	38	0	0	8
Spring 1973	2	22	3	33	4	45	0	0	9
Totals									
Fall 1971	33	73	0	0	12	27	0	0	45
Spring 1972	6	14	6	14	28	67	2	5	42
Spring 1973	10	23	5	11	26	59	3	7	44

Table VI-4. College Plans of High School Students over Freshman and Sophomore Years

Response to Question: Do you think you will go to college after high school?

	Yes		Probably		Maybe		No		Total Students
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	
Anchorage Boarding Home Program									
Fall 1971	0	0%	2	14%	10	71%	2	14%	14
Spring 1972	0	0	5	36	7	50	2	14	14
Spring 1973	3	21	7	50	4	29	0	0	14
Nome-Beltz Regional School									
Fall 1971	0	0	6	33	11	61	1	6	18
Spring 1972	3	15	5	25	9	45	3	15	20
Spring 1973	0	0	6	27	11	50	5	23	22

Table VI-4. (continued)

	Yes		Probably		Maybe		No		Total Students
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	
Bethel Regional School									
Fall 1971	0	0%	5	56%	2	22%	2	22%	9
Spring 1972	0	0	3	50	1	17	2	33	6
Spring 1973	1	11	3	33	2	22	3	33	9
Totals									
Fall 1971	0	0	13	32	23	56	5	12	41
Spring 1972	3	8	13	33	17	43	7	18	40
Spring 1973	4	9	16	36	17	38	8	18	45

Table VI-5. **Residence Preferences of High School in Alternative High School Programs**

	Home Village		Medium Town		City		Outside of Alaska		Total Students
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	
Anchorage Boarding Home Program									
Fall 1971	24	59%	9	22%	7	17%	1	2%	41
Spring 1972	22	67	3	9	8	24	0	0	33
Spring 1973	6	43	3	21	5	36	0	0	14
Nome-Beltz Regional School									
Fall 1971	25	60	7	17	8	19	2	5	42
Spring 1972	29	83	2	6	4	11	0	0	35
Spring 1973	16	73	2	9	4	18	0	0	22

Table VI-5. (continued)

	Home Village		Medium Town		City		Outside of Alaska		Total Students
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	
Bethel Regional School									
Fall 1971	17	74%	4	17%	1	4%	1	4%	23
Spring 1972	10	67	4	27	1	6	0	0	15
Spring 1973	6	67	2	22	1	11	0	0	9
Totals									
Fall 1971	66	62	20	19	16	15	4	4	106
Spring 1972	61	73	9	11	13	16	0	0	83
Spring 1973	28	62	7	16	10	22	0	0	45

Table VI-6. Change in Beliefs about Prejudices Toward Natives of High School Students at End of Freshman Year

Question 1

Some people say there is a lot of prejudice or bad feelings against Natives. Some people say this is not true. How much prejudice or bad feeling do you think there is against Natives?

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program		Beltz Boarding School		Bethel Boarding Home Program		Total	
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	%
No change in attitude	12	36%	12	36%	1	10%	25	33%
Perceived more prejudice	8	24	12	36	6	60	26	34
Perceived less prejudice	13	39	9	27	3	30	25	33
Total	33		33		10		76	

Table IV-6. (continued)

Question 2

Do you think prejudice or bad feelings against Natives could stop you from doing what you want in the future?

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program		Beltz Boarding School		Bethel Boarding Home Program		Total	
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	%
No change in attitude	16	47%	12	36%	5	50%	33	43%
Perceived more prejudice	7	21	9	27	3	30	19	25
Perceived less prejudice	11	32	12	36	2	20	25	32
Total	34		33		10		77	

APPENDIX VII

BACKGROUND OF VILLAGE STUDENTS IN ALTERNATIVE HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Table VII-1. Family Background Rated by Teacher

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program		Beltz Boarding School		Bethel Boarding Home Program		Total	
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	%
Strong	20	61%	22	59%	8	40%	50	56%
Moderate	8	24	11	30	7	35	26	29
Not Strong	5	15	4	11	5	25	14	16
Total	33		37		20		90	

Table VII-2. Student Drinking Rated by Teacher

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program		Beltz Boarding School		Bethel Boarding Home Program		Total	
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	%
Drank before entering program	0	0%	4	10%	4	20%	8	8%
Did not drink before entering program	39	100	36	90	16	80	91	92
Total	39		40		20		99	

Table VII-3. Student Age

Age	Anchorage Boarding Home Program	Beltz Boarding School	Bethel Boarding Home Program	Total Students
	No. of Students	No. of Students	No. of Students	
13	4	11	1	16
14	16	21	8	45
15	13	4	4	21
16	4	4	3	11
17	2	2	6	10
18	0	0	1	1
Mean	14.6	14.2	15.3	14.6
Total	39	42	23	104

Table VII-4. Employment of Father

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program		Beltz Boarding School		Bethel Boarding Home Program		Total	
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	%
Employed Regularly	12	32%	17	41%	7	33%	36	36%
Not Employed Regularly	26	68	24	59	14	67	64	64
Total	38		41		21		100	

Table VII-5. Degree of Western Skill Involved in Father's Job

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program		Beltz Boarding School		Bethel Boarding Home Program		Total	
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	%
Traditional	14	54%	11	41%	10	83%	35	54%
Some Western	6	23	13	48	2	17	21	32
High Level Western	6	23	3	11	0	0	9	14
Total	26		27		12		65	

Table VII-6. Father's Educational Level

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program		Beltz Boarding School		Bethel Boarding Home Program		Total	
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	%
High School Graduate	2	5%	2	5%	2	9%	6	6%
Elementary Graduate	1	3	8	21	1	5	10	10
Under Elementary	34	92	28	74	18	86	80	83
Total	37		38		21		96	

Table VII-7. Employment of Mother

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program		Beltz Boarding School		Bethel Boarding Home Program		Total	
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	%
Employed Regularly	3	8%	7	18%	8	38%	18	18%
Not Employed Regularly	35	92	33	82	13	62	81	82
Total	38		40		21		99	

Table VII-8. Mother's Educational Level

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program		Beltz Boarding School		Bethel Boarding Home Program		Total	
	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	% of Sample	Students	%
High School Graduate	0	0%	2	5%	1	4%	3	3%
Elementary Graduate	2	6	2	5	4	14	8	8
Under Elementary	34	94	35	90	23	82	92	89
Total	36		39		28		103	

Table VII-9. Father Degree Native

Degree Native	Anchorage Boarding Home Program	Beltz Boarding School	Bethel Boarding Home Program
	No. of Students	No. of Students	No. of Students
0	0	0	1
1/4	0	0	0
2/4	2	1	0
3/4	0	1	1
4/4	36	39	18

Table VII-10. Mother Degree Native

Degree Native	Anchorage Boarding Home Program	Beltz Boarding School	Bethel Boarding Home Program
	No. of Students	No. of Students	No. of Students
0	0	0	0
1/4	0	0	0
2/4	1	0	0
3/4	3	1	1
4/4	38	39	20

APPENDIX VIII

FOLLOW-UP STUDIES OF GRADUATES FROM ALTERNATIVE HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Table VIII-1. Follow-up of Graduates of the Anchorage Boarding Home Program, Beltz Boarding School, and Bethel Regional High School 1970-1972[a]

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program	Beltz Regional School	Bethel Regional School	Total
College Entrance and Success[b]				
Total Number of Graduates in Senior Class 1970-1972	65	91	19	175
Graduates Entering College:	13 (20%)	23 (25%)	5 (26%)	41 (23%)
Average Number of College Sessions Completed by Year				
1969-70	4.67 (4 students)	1.40 (9 students)		
1970-71	2.00 (2 students)	1.62 (9 students)	1.00 (2 students)	
1971-72	1.60 (7 students)	1.60 (5 students)	1.30 (3 students)	
Grade Point Average (GPA)	2.19	1.31	2.00	

[a] Bethel Boarding Home Program graduating class of 1969-70 is too small to include.

[b] Includes those students in the Dillingham Foreign Study Program.

Table VIII-1. (continued)

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program	Beltz Regional School	Bethel Regional School	Total
Average Credits Earned per session	11.93	10.00	10.85	
Graduates Successful[c] in College	8 (62%)	7 (30%)	1 (20%)	16 (39%)
Community Activities and Employment				
Graduates with jobs who are not students[d]	12	13	3	28
Graduates participating in community activities[e]	4 (17%)	4 (13%)	0 (0%)	8 (14%)

[c] Success if defined as earning a 2.00 GPA with 7.5 credits of instruction completed for first session.

[d] Proportion cannot be calculated because same information came from sources other than questionnaires.

[e] Based on questionnaire returns.

Table VIII-1. (continued)

	Anchorage Boarding Home Program	Beltz Regional School	Bethel Regional School	Total
Opinion of School Program				
Positive	6 (26%)	2 (9%)	3 (75%)	11 (22%)
Mixed	15 (65%)	9 (39%)	0 (0%)	24 (48%)
Negative	2 (9%)	12 (52%)	1 (25%)	15 (30%)
Total	23	23	4	50
Questionnaires Returned of Known Addresses				
Number Returned	23 (46%)	30 (42%)	4 (31%)	57 (42%)
Number Sent	50	72	13	135

Table VIII-2. **First Enrollment Success Rates* for Students Entering Alaska Higher Education by Type of High School and Type of College 1963-64, 1968-69, 1971-72**

	U. of A. (Fairbanks)		A.M.U.		Sheldon Jackson College		Total	
Type of High School	Students	Percent	Students	Percent	Students	Percent	Students	Percent
Public Native Majority	16 out of 53	30%	5 out of 10	50%	4 out of 13	31%	25 out of 76	33%
Public White Majority	25 out of 65	38	7 out of 16	44	8 out of 15	53	40 out of 96	42
Public Boarding School	7 out of 40	18	9 out of 21	43	6 out of 13	46	22 out of 74	30
Private Boarding School	16 out of 33	48	2 out of 5	40	6 out of 11	55	24 out of 49	49

*Success is defined as achieving a 2.0 grade point average while completing 7.5 credits or more during the first enrollment.

This table is taken from K. Kohout and J. Kleinfeld, *Alaska Natives in Alaska Higher Education*, Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research (forthcoming, 1974).

Table VIII-3. **First Enrollment Success Rates* for Alaska Native Students Enrolled at the University of Alaska by Type of High School and ACT Scores 1968-1972 (Inclusive)**

	Low ACT		Medium ACT		High ACT		Total	
School Type	Students	Percent	Students	Percent	Students	Percent	Students	Percent
Public Native Majority	3 out of 21	14%	21 out of 58	36%	4 out of 9	44%	28 out of 88	32%
Public White Majority (no dormitory)								
Rural Background	2 out of 7	29	6 out of 25	24	2 out of 4	50	10 out of 36	28
Urban Background	1 out of 6	17	16 out of 37	43	9 out of 16	56	26 out of 59	44
Public Boarding School	0 out of 9	0	9 out of 44	20	0 out of 5	0	9 out of 58	16
Private Boarding School	7 out of 12	58	15 out of 37	41	4 out of 5	80	26 out of 54	48

*Success is defined as achieving a 2.0 grade point average while completing 7.5 credits or more during the first enrollment.

This table is taken from K. Kohout and J. Kleinfeld, *Alaska Natives in Alaska Higher Education*, Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research (forthcoming, 1974).

APPENDIX IX

PROJECTED VILLAGE HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS

Table IX-1. Projected Village High School Enrollment 1978*

Student Enrollment	Number of Villages	Percentage of Villages
0 – 10	47	29%
11 – 20	48	30
21 – 30	25	15
31 – 40	12	7
41 – 50	16	10
51 – above	15	9
Total	163	100%

*The information in this table is based on enrollment statistics from State Operated Schools and Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools. Figures were provided by the Division of Regional Schools and Boarding Home Program, Alaska Department of Education, 1973.

Table IX-2. **Projected 9th – 12th Grade Students of Villages Presently Without Full High School Programs 1978***

	9th	10th	11th	12th	Total
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS SCHOOLS					
Akiachak	15	10	4	9	38
Akiak	7	11	5	0	23
Alakanuk	15	12	12	13	52
Barrow	74	58	46	64	242
Barter Island	2	4	4	4	14
Beaver	4	5	5	3	17
Brevig Mission	6	7	4	7	24
Chefornak	7	6	2	9	24
Chevak	15	18	15	18	66
Diomede	3	2	4	5	14
Eek	6	6	6	5	23
Elim	6	5	8	2	21
Emmonak	16	13	11	19	59
Gambell	12	13	12	13	50
Golovin	4	4	4	1	13
Goodnews Bay	8	6	8	4	26
Grayling	8	4	10	3	25
Hooper Bay	28	16	20	16	80

*The information in this table is based on enrollment statistics from State Operated Schools and Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools. Figures were provided by the Division of Regional Schools and Boarding Home Program, Alaska Department of Education, 1973.

Table IX-2. (continued)

	9th	10th	11th	12th	Total
Kalskag	10	5	2	7	24
Kasigluk	10	9	9	12	40
Kiana	8	8	9	11	36
Kipnuk	15	11	11	13	50
Klukwan	2	3	0	0	5
Kotlik	12	12	10	10	44
Kwethluk	15	9	13	4	41
Kwingillinguk	6	6	6	6	24
Lower Kalskag	4	10	1	0	15
Mekoryuk	12	11	12	13	48
Mountain Village	13	19	13	19	64
Napakiak	6	8	12	5	31
Napaskiak	9	5	8	3	25
Newtok	4	9	0	5	18
Nightmute	5	2	9	2	18
Nunapitchuk	10	13	12	12	47
Oscarville	2	3	1	2	8
Pilot Station	7	11	11	7	36
Quinhagak	13	10	9	5	37

Table IX-2. (continued)

	9th	10th	11th	12th	Total
St. Michael	10	8	7	4	29
Savoonga	15	10	15	10	50
Scammon Bay	7	4	10	0	21
Shageluk	3	5	4	6	18
Shaktoolik	4	4	5	5	18
Sheldon Point	8	2	2	5	17
Stebbins	4	1	7	7	19
Tetlin	3	2	4	2	11
Toksook Bay	9	7	8	6	30
Tuluksak	4	4	5	5	18
Tuntutuliak	7	7	6	3	23
Tununak	25	8	7	7	47
Unalakleet	17	15	12	18	62
Venetie	2	1	2	3	8
Wainwright	17	10	13	15	55

Table IX-2. (continued)

	9th	10th	11th	12th	Total
STATE OPERATED SCHOOLS					
Akutan	3	4	2	5	14
Aleknagik	2	10	4	2	18
Allakaket	8	5	7	4	24
Ambler	7	9	3	4	23
Anderson Village	11	14	6	12	43
Angoon	10	17	15	17	59
Aniak	8	10	9	9	36
Annette	13	15	21	9	58
Anvik	4	5	3	4	16
Arctic Village	5	2	5	1	13
Atka	3	2	2	6	13
Atmautluak	6	5	5	5	21
Belkofski	2	2	2	1	7
Bettles	2	0	3	2	7
Birch Creek	2	0	0	3	5
Brown's Court	3	2	3	1	9
Buckland	2	5	3	4	14
Cantwell	2	4	4	1	11
Cape Pole	5	3	3	0	11

Table IX-2. (continued)

	9th	10th	11th	12th	Total
Chalkyitsik	4	2	2	6	14
Chignik	2	0	2	3	7
Chignik Lagoon	2	0	2	3	7
Chignik Lake	2	4	2	5	13
Chistochina	3	4	2	0	9
Chuathbaluk	5	11	2	3	21
Circle	3	0	4	0	7
Clark's Point	3	3	3	5	14
Coffman Cove	3	5	3	3	14
Cold Bay	1	3	0	2	6
Copper Center	6	4	3	1	14
Crooked Creek	4	6	6	1	17
Deering	2	2	4	3	11
Dot Lake	1	1	1	3	6
Eagle	2	4	1	0	7
Egegik	2	5	6	5	18
Ekuk	1	1	3	2	7
Ekwok	4	4	3	1	12
El Capitan	1	2	2	2	7
False Pass	7	1	1	2	11
Fortuna Ledge	3	2	4	5	14

Table IX-2. (continued)

	9th	10th	11th	12th	Total
Gakona	5	1	5	4	15
Gildersleve	1	0	1	2	4
Gustavus	0	1	1	1	3
Holy Cross	7	10	5	9	31
Hughes	2	3	4	4	13
Huslia	9	4	5	4	22
Iguigig	2	3	2	1	8
Ivanof Bay	0	2	1	0	3
Island Enterprises	3	2	1	1	7
Kaltag	8	10	11	8	37
Kenny Lake	5	15	11	10	41
Kivalina	12	1	5	5	23
Kobuk	2	2	3	1	8
Kokhanok Bay	3	2	3	1	9
Koliganek	6	1	5	5	17
Kongiganak	16	3	10	9	38
Koyuk	6	6	6	5	23
Koyukuk	3	10	5	0	18
Levelock	2	7	4	1	14

Table IX-2. (continued)

	9th	10th	11th	12th	Total
Manley Hot Springs	2	0	1	2	5
Manokotak	13	9	16	9	47
Mentasta Lake	6	1	1	0	8
Minto	8	4	7	2	21
Nelson Lagoon	3	3	1	0	7
Newhalen	2	2	7	4	15
New Stuyahok	10	10	10	10	40
Nikolai	0	5	4	3	12
Nikolski	0	1	1	1	3
Noatak	15	7	7	12	41
Nondalton	10	12	9	8	39
Noorvik	19	19	19	18	75
North Aleknagik	2	2	2	2	8
Northway	9	9	14	14	46
Nulato	15	13	17	9	54
Ongsenkale	2	4	2	1	9
Paxson	3	1	0	0	4
Pedro Bay	1	2	2	0	5
Perryville	0	3	3	0	6
Pilot Point	2	0	2	1	5
Pitka's Point	4	1	0	1	6

Table IX-2. (continued)

	9th	10th	11th	12th	Total
Platinum	3	5	1	4	13
Port Alice	1	1	0	0	2
Port Heiden	2	5	3	1	11
Rampart	2	2	1	1	6
Red Devil	4	2	3	3	12
Ruby	3	9	6	4	22
Russian Mission	6	5	4	2	17
St. George Island	6	4	6	5	21
St. John's Harbor	1	3	0	5	9
St. Paul Island	10	20	16	8	54
Sand Point	15	9	17	12	53
Selawick	17	18	19	20	74
Shishmaref	11	11	11	11	44
Shungnak	11	3	5	7	20
Sleetmute	3	3	1	5	12
Stevens Village	2	1	3	2	8
Stony River	1	3	1	2	7
Sunrise Creek	4	1	0	2	7
Takotna	0	3	1	1	5
Tanacross	1	1	2	0	4
Tatitlek	2	2	5	3	12

Table IX-2. (continued)

	9th	10th	11th	12th	Total
Teller	5	9	9	6	29
Tenakee	0	1	0	1	2
Togiak	11	14	16	10	51
Tri-Valley	18	12	12	7	49
Tuxekan	0	3	2	0	5
Twin Hills	3	2	5	1	11
Wales	6	3	3	3	15
Whale Pass	1	5	2	1	9
White Mountain	1	3	4	2	10
Whittier	2	2	2	2	8
Totals	1066	986	964	866	3882